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THE
COURT AND TIMES
OF
CHARLES THE FIRST;

CONTAINING A SERIES OF
HISTORICAL AND CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS,
INCLUDING
MEMOIRS OF THE MISSION IN ENGLAND OF THE CAPUCHIN
FRIARS IN THE SERVICE OF HENRIETTA MARIA, AND A
VARIETY OF OTHER PARTICULARS NOT MENTIONED
BY OUR HISTORIANS.

Transcribed from the Originals
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, STATE PAPER OFFICE, AND
PRIVATE COLLECTIONS,

BY THOMAS BIRCH, D.D.
AUTHOR OF "MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH,"
EDITOR OF "THURLOE'S COLLECTION OF STATE PAPERS,"
ETC.

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THE
COURT AND TIMES
OF
CHARLES THE FIRST.

[The writer of this letter, whose acquaintance the reader commenced in the outset of his political career as Dudley Carleton, was now at the zenith of his greatness. The credit with which he had acquitted himself in his embassy to Holland, in a period of great difficulty, had obtained for him the honours of the peerage, and the post of secretary of state. He was subsequently engaged in many important negotiations; but, as a statesman, was too completely identified with the court to create for himself a durable reputation. His letters and speeches convey indications of talent, but are in no slight degree tinctured with prejudice, for he was determined to view every thing through a courtly medium, which, presented to him by such arbitrary agents as Buckingham and Laud, could not avoid filling his mind with false impressions. He was, however, spared the sight of the troubles with which this false policy afflicted the nation, for he died in 1631-2.]

Lord Viscount Dorchester to the Earl of Carlisle.

Court, this 19th December, 1628.

I cannot make a better entry into a secretary's place, which his majesty hath conferred upon me, than by paying your lordship the first fruits of my letters, as they are the first I write in that quality, not by commandment, for your servant hath his despatch already by other hands, but out of a due respect to your person and service, with

acknowledgment of many and very weighty obligations renewed unto me, when I had the honour last to see you at the Hague, when you gave me the comfortable assurance of his majesty's gracious intentions towards me. And as I have been true to your lordship, according as you enjoined me, not to take knowledge thereof to his majesty, or any other, I must be as true to myself in retaining always a grateful remembrance, and rendering your lordship my most humble thanks for those good offices, which I very well know how to value.

We now expect your lordship's return hither with expedition; and though affairs (I mean such as are foreign) may be pressed to a resolution by intervening ministers, and delay may draw on danger, I see no other likelihood but that they will attend your lordship's coming. God direct them to the advancement of his cause, and the king, our dear master's honour and service.

Meanwhile, our domestic businesses continue in the same train, which I advertised your lordship by two several letters (one by Mr. Wood, the other by one of your gentlemen); that they were entered into upon the late change. Every one walks within the circle of his charge, and his majesty's hand is the chief, and in effect the sole directory.

The parliament is like to hold at the appointed day, the 20th of the next month; and all things, by his majesty's personal order in council, as well as in church as commonwealth, are provisionally so disposed, that he may the better hope for a fair and loving meeting with his people.

As well in this regard as all others, I very much wish and desire your lordship's presence here amongst us, knowing how much your fresh experience, joined to that of long continuance, can contribute to affairs both at home and abroad.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 24, 1628.

I have this day received yours of the 20th of this month; for answer whereunto, all that I can present to

your consideration concerning the holding of the parliament at the time appointed is, that hitherto I can perceive no motion to the contrary; and that the general voice and opinion goeth to the confirmation thereof, not only because we are already come within the time, that by orderly course the despatches should be made for the countermanding or putting off of the same, whereof hitherto we hear no speech at all, but also because of some particular passages observed and interpreted to tend to the preparation of a parliament. As, namely, that which I wrote unto you in my last, of the stopping and suspending of the Spanish treaty; and, likewise, the speeches used by some at the council-table, for the maintaining the true religion against the growing Popery and Socinianism, which the new Bishop Montagu the first broacher thereof, by writing in this country, hath now, by a late letter of his written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, plainly disclaimed from. As also that the said archbishop is now reinstated in his majesty's favour; by whose appointment there is a private convocation of some selected clergymen held at his house at Lambeth, for the repressing of those errors; which thing I, for my part, do think be not only advisedly but also really intended by his majesty.

Touching the captains that have been examined about the last unfortunate journey to Rochelle, seven of them that have been found faulty are committed to the Marshelsea; and the king seemeth to be much offended with them. But how or whether they will be further proceeded against, I do not know. Of the other captain and soldiers that have been in that expedition, there is especial care taken to have them paid their due, afore the king's servants or any other can receive any penny.

For any other prize of the Plate fleet made or brought in by the Hollanders, I do not hear. Neither do I as yet hear of more than of three ships that is safely come into Holland; the rest lying as yet upon the coast, in expectation either of some more favourable weather, or of more ships out of Holland for their safe convoy, they being waited for by fifteen or twenty Dunkirkers, which are not like to let them pass without some scuffling. But of any

stay made here of that fleet, I have not heard hitherto; only it hath been reported, that they had made large offer to the king to be wafted home by his ships.

For the Muscovian ambassador's errand, I do not hear nor conceive it to be other than about the ordinary matter of trade and intercourse between our merchants and them, the said ambassador himself being one of that profession.

We are here put in some hope, that the queen is with child, she having some signs thereof, but a little longer time will make it better known.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 31, 1628.

I cannot hitherto discover any cause to recant that which I have therein written concerning the holding of parliament, which I find rather confirmed by that there hath been order to have those robes and furnitures fetched from Windsor, which are to serve for the parliament, although it is true that there hath been great and stormy labouring to hinder it.

One Captain Guy, of Bristol, hath made a rich prize upon the Spaniards, but not upon the Plate fleet; neither is the said prize as yet brought in.

Mr. Porter, who was gone into Spain about the peace, being lately come back in a Spanish ship, which was run aground by Burford, in Dorsetshire, and there broken in pieces, though without the loss of any man, was so roughly handled at his landing, that they not only took from him and those of his company all that they had, but stripped him and them of all their clothes, and left them so naked many hours afore they could afford them any harbour or courtesy, although he cried out to them he was the king's servant. But, upon the receipt of a warrant, despatched away from thence, he hath been since, and the Spaniards better entreated and respected, and is now hourly expected at court with two Spanish gentlemen, that are coming along with him under the name of travellers, the rest of the passengers being bound, as they say, for Dunkirk. At

their coming, we expect to see whether the Spanish treaty be as forward as the French, which, by a courier that came on Monday last from France to the Venetian ambassador, we hear to be in a fair way of speedy conclusion, the King of France finding himself so engaged (as the courier reporteth) against the King of Spain not only for the quarrel of Mantua, but also of Genoa, which hath cast itself into his protection, having shaken off that of Spain, and expelled, as he saith, the Spanish ambassador out of the town, that he is now sending three great armies over into Italy, the one under the command of the Marquis of Coeuvre (called now the Marshal D'Estrees), by the Switzer's country, another commanded by the Marshal de Crequi, through the Duke of Savoy's dominions, who giveth them free passage, and the third by sea, under the Duke of Guise's command, for the assisting and maintaining of Genoa. Which being so, I make no doubt but that shortly, God willing, both we and the French Protestants shall have a good peace with France.

My Lord of Carlisle is at the Hague, and daily now expected here, and Sir Thomas Roe with him.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 7, 1628-9.

Herewith I send you a declaration made by his majesty, in consequence of the convocation held at Lambeth about the maintaining of the true [faith] against the errors lately crept into the church; which I thought to let you see before your coming up to the parliament; of the holding whereof at the time appointed there is no more doubt made. And it were to be wished that it had been sooner, for the preventing or suppressing of the difference growing daily more and more between the king and the subjects, about the matter of tonnage and poundage, through the obstinate resolution of some merchants which refuse to pay it; so as within these three days, to free themselves from the customers' hands and compulsion, they went, with two or three hundred armed men, aboard their ships, and brought from thence great store of merchandize,

namely, currants, to land, which they had already laden upon carts, to carry them to their private houses; but that they were forced by the customers' stronger hand to let them be brought back to the Custom House, where they are kept till the duty be satisfied.

In the mean time, it hath not a little troubled the council to see those bold refractory courses used by the subjects to the open contemning of the king's authority, from the vindicating whereof from such violent and direct attempts, I think there will be order taken to have some of the chief attempters clapt up, until the difference be fully cleared and settled in the parliament.

The peace with France, as I hear, doth still go forward underhand, as well by the intervention and ministry of the States', as of the Venetian ambassadors. But of the Spanish treaty I can say no more than I have done by my last, though Mr. Porter be now within these two days come to the court from his journey into Spain.

My Lord of Carlisle is now daily expected here out of Holland.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 14, 1628-9.

Because I made accounts that you would have repaired hither this week, to be at the beginning of parliament, I did intend to have forborne writing any more for this time unto you. But your letter, which I received this day, doth invite me to resume the pen again, which at this present hath only two short but material points to represent unto you. The one is, the advancement of our peace with France, which, as I understand by credible reports and probable conjectures, is now brought so forward, that the difference which it did chiefly stick at about the queen's household, is, in a manner, accommodated; his majesty being content for the public good to readmit into her service some of those servants of hers that were sent away; but of what sort, or how many, I do not yet understand; only I am persuaded they will be few, besides some number of priests. But now, because his majesty is

engaged in honour by the late duke's manifesto, published in the Isle of Rhé, to see those of the religion righted in their grievances, I suppose because the King of France is stiff not to have them mentioned in his treaty with England, that his majesty doth protract the conclusion thereof, till he see them first, to have assured their particular peace, which they are now in hand withal.

The second point that I have to present unto you, is of the joyful assurance we have now of the queen's being with child, Monsieur de Ventelet, one of her chief servants among the French, being this day departed into France, to carry the news thereof to the queen mother, though, for my part, I am of opinion that the same is not the only errand; but that he goeth about the business of the peace also.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 21, 1628-9.

I make no doubt but that you have had ere this the doleful news of the Prince of Bohemia's unfortunate death, who, going with his father from the Hague to Amsterdam to see the ships of the West India prize, was drowned by the way in the Haarlem Sea, with nineteen persons more of their company, by the unhappy encountering of their boat with another that was stronger, laden with beer, whereby, being splitted, it was presently filled up with water, and sunk; and the murdering boat, having a fair wind, would have left them all there; but a skipper of the king's boat being gotten into it, did with his dagger threaten death to the master thereof, if he would not presently to save the King of Bohemia, to whom a cable being cast, he was by that means saved, together with a woman and a lackey that took hold thereof with him. But the poor prince, though he was hoisted up by the gentlemen that were in that distress with him to the top of the mast, and the other boat, as it is reported, did what they could to save him, yet he could not be found till the next morning, that they came back to seek his body, which was found embracing the pole that was lapped in his cloak,

and his cheek fastened by the frost to the said pole. Which deplorable accident hath been such a wind to the poor father's and mother's hearts, as, it is much feared, that together with the present indispositions of their bodies, (she being newly brought to bed, and he much bruised and distempered with that miserable accident) it may endanger their lives.

The king hath been much grieved with the hopeful and towardly prince, and hath put all his court into mourning for him; and is now sending Sir Robert Carey to the King and Queen of Bohemia to condole with them in his name for that heavy affliction.

He was a prince so admirable, both for his natural parts and learning in those young years, being but fifteen years old, as that the eyes and hopes of all the afflicted party were already fixed upon him. But God's ways are not our ways; neither are his thoughts our thoughts; neither doth he ever want means to bring his purpose to pass.

My Lord of Carlisle, who arrived here at length the last week, brought this doleful news with him, having been the first that acquainted the Queen of Bohemia with it. He hath been every day since his arrival very private with the king; but all is kept so close, that there is little known as yet of his manifold negociations. He hath had very great honour done him everywhere, especially at Venice, and hath brought an extraordinary rich present from the Duke of Savoy; and, among the rest, a sword worth, by report, ten thousand pounds sterling. With him there is a gentleman come from the Duke of Savoy.

But now, sir, being at this present sent for for the king's service, I am forced abruptly to break off here, only this I cannot omit, that the parliament began yesterday at the appointed time.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, the last day save one of the wet
and unhappy January, 1629.

On Friday last week his majesty reconciled my Lord of Holland and my Lord Carlisle, and with his hand joined

theirs, with this protestation, that whosoever should go about to dissolve that knot, he himself would be his enemy. Besides, my Lady of Carlisle is restored to the queen's bedchamber and into her favour; and one Mrs. Smith, a servant of her majesty's, and one that by her loud tongue had kindled these coals of discord, turned out of service; many of the queen's goods being found to be purloined and concealed among hers; besides that she had been famous both in France and here for other than virtuous qualities.

On St. Stephen's day, the lords justices of Ireland being in Dublin, sent to the archbishop of that see and the Bishop of Kilkenny, and to the mayor and sheriffs of the town, to apprehend a popish bishop and some friars and priests that were publicly celebrating mass there. They did so; but, leading them through the streets, their faction rescued the bishop, and had like to have stoned our Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Kilkenny to death, and some say Kilkenny is since dead. The lords justices thereupon raised a power, and appeased the mutiny, and possessed ten houses, where mass was used to be said, with soldiers, and so dispersed the priests and friars out of the town. Whereupon, a Franciscan soon after hanged himself in his own girdle, being, as you know, a cord; and another friar, of some other order, hanged himself in the night out at the street. It seems they failed of some expectation by this attempt, or could not bear a success so contrary as was the driving of the exercise of their religion quite out of town. This is the true relation, and not as others told it; some, that the Archbishop of Dublin was slain; the Earl of Cork, one of the justices, made to fly to save his life; others, that the primate of Armagh was slain by two Jesuits, or friars, who, when they had done, likewise slew themselves to escape torture, &c. Thus some related; but it was partly false, and partly mistaken, as you may collect by the true relation aforesaid.

I saw a letter, written on Thursday this week, wherein was verbatim thus:—"The judges of the King's Bench have declared their opinion against the gentlemen, viz., that their crimes are within the cognizance of that court; else, say they, the king must call a new parliament for the

punishment of a parliament man, if he commit murder in parliament time. 2. They allege many precedents: among the rest, that Plowden, in Queen Mary's time, had said some words against the queen's dignity in parliament, and was fined for the same in the King's Bench. 3. Said the judges, the acts of the whole body of the parliament are not questionable in an inferior court; no, nor the act of a member thereof, so far as he does aught as a member of that body; but else they are, as said Sir Nicholas Hyde, 'If I should on this bench strike a man, I were punishable at the sessions; because, when I strike, I do *deponere personam et officium judicis*, and break the king's peace.' Some of the gentlemen's counsel said, among other things, that they were as ambassadors from their several boroughs, and therefore not punishable, unless they had violated, *jus naturæ* or *gentium*; which the attorney-general jeered at. The judges will proceed to sentence next Monday." Thus that letter, wherein there seems some defect in the relation, which we look to receive in a more perfect manner to-day from another hand.

The same author adds, that the matter about prohibitions was that Thursday to be heard at the council-table. That Sir Henry Yelverton¹ was dead; death giving him but two days' warning, and supposed he died of an apoplexy. But I think I heard of his death long before this, unless that were a false report. Of the Spanish ambassador, what he does, I can hear nothing. Some say his commission is not yet come; and that thereupon our ambassador was sent to, to stay at Lisbon till he heard farther from hence. Of the Isle of Providence, christened by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, I shall inform you as soon as I get any perfect relation.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 3, 1629.

My letters will afford you but a poor entertainment at this time, it having almost no other subject but the confirmation of the former advertisements, especially in the

¹ Formerly attorney-general, and at last one of the justices of the Common Pleas, in which he died, 24th January, 1629-30, at his house in Aldersgate Street.

continuance of the complaints of the English merchants, and of his majesty's ambassador in their behalf, for that they can get no manner of justice in France for the restitution of their ships and goods. And although the officers there can allege no colour of justice for the detention thereof, yet they refuse to restore them, because, say they, there is no right done nor satisfaction given to the French in England. In the mean time, it is feared lest this misunderstanding may grow to a farther unkindness and mischief between the two nations, considering what causes of jealousy are given besides by these great preparations that are made for the sea in France, against the which we are likewise preparing here some number of good ships to be presently set out, and taking order to have the whole fleet in a readiness to meet with any foreign attempt. Another discontentment they have here against the French, for their furnishing the Spaniards with great quantity of corn out of Bretagne.

In Scotland, there hath been some broil of late by the renewing of the deadly feuds between some of the great houses. Here Sir Walter Long was brought this day into the Star Chamber, for having at the last election which was made for the parliament left the sheriffhood, which was then in his hands, to become a burges of the said parliament. But the determining of the cause is put off till Friday next. No news as yet from Sir Francis Cotton since his arrival at Madrid, nor any thing done here by Don Carlos Colonna. The Marquis of Hamilton is come back out of Scotland.

*Mr. Justinian Isham to Paul D'Ewes,¹ Esq., at Stow
Langton, in Suffolk.*

London, March 5, 1628.

I am sure you are desirous to hear of our late parliament's proceedings, which, had they been better, I should have been more desirous to have written them.

On Monday last, Mr. Speaker² was appointed by the

¹ Father of Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

² Sir John Finch, a mere creature of the court. He was stigmatized by his own kinsman, Sir Peter Hayman, as "the disgrace of his country, the blot of a noble family, and whom posterity will remember with scorn and disdain!"

king to signify to the Lower House that the parliament was adjourned until the 10th day of this month. But as the speaker began to deliver his message, the gentlemen, foreseeing what he was to say, commanded him to be silent. Whereupon, as he was about to go out of the house, they plucked him back by force, and held him in his chair. So locking the door to themselves, they laid the key upon the table; which done, after divers speeches by sundry men spoken, with a general voice they proclaimed that none should give tonnage and poundage; and also, that they were traitors to the king and state, who either favoured Arminianism or popery,¹ as Bishop Laud, said one, as my lord treasurer, said another; every one particularizing whom he thought fit. But my lord treasurer's second son being a parliament man was much commended for a modest speech which he forthwith made in the defence of his father. In the mean time, the king sending two or three messengers one after another unto them, they were kept out, the doors not suffered to be opened. Thus they, some saying one thing, some another, some ready to take their swords in their hands, continued in this distraction, until they perceived that they could conclude of little or nothing. So opening the door to go out there stood a sergeant-at-arms sent from the king ready to enter; who was no sooner seen than they rushed all out, and carried him away before them in the crowd. It is said, that a Welch page hearing a great noise in the house cried out, "I pray you let hur in, let hur in, to give hur master his sword, for they are all fighting!"

The proclamation came out yesterday for dissolving the parliament. Sir John Elliot, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Coryton,

¹ The articles of the protest in which the House concurred were:—"1. Whosoever shall seek to bring in Popery, Arminianism, or other opinions, disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whosoever shall advise the taking of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and government. 3. Whatev'er merchant or other person shall pay tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the same." The reader may refer with advantage, for a full account of this stirring act in the great political drama that was being performed before the nation, to the Journals of both Houses of Parliament for this date, Whitelock, p. 12; Rushworth, vol. i., p. 655; Disraeli, vol. ii., p. 253; and Langard, vol. ix., p. 292.

are said to be committed. There is also a speech, that some in the higher house should accuse one another of treason.¹

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 22, 1628-9.

All our town and colleges are shining at this present with bonfires, our bells ringing, and for joy the queen's with child.

I hope you received my yesterday's. The chief news since is of the French army gotten over the Alps in Piedmont by a way never till now essayed; the manner also strange, as by rolling great round pine trees down the hills, to harden the snow; and then slid down upon it, they and their baggage and all. The army is between thirty and forty thousand men, and besieges Susa. They are said to be very joyous at court for this news, as being for this year freed from all fear of the French invasion.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 13, 1629.

Hoping you are safely come to your house with my lady your wife, and all your company, I will begin to send my weekly salutations thither unto you, which for the present shall go accompanied with the welcome message of the peace between this crown and France, published on both sides on Sunday last, the $\frac{20}{10}$ of this month, which was here performed with sound of trumpets by two heralds, assisted with the two sheriffs of London, who first proclaimed it at Whitehall Gate, and then in the city, and the next day

¹ In dissolving the parliament, the king allowed his vindictive feelings against the more patriotic members to betray themselves. "It is far from me," he said, "to judge all the House alike guilty, for there are there as dutiful subjects as any in the world; it being but some few vipers among them that did cast this mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes." The vipers were almost immediately summoned before the privy council: and they bore the distinguished names of Selden, Elliot, Holles, Hobart, Hayman, Coriton, Long, Valentine, and Stroud: of course, this proceeding was merely preliminary to their being sent to prison; and the short-sighted persecution which they severally endured forms one of the most discreditable features in the history of their sovereign.

again, to wit, on Monday morning, before Westminster Hall; a copy of which proclamation you shall herewith receive. Some few bonfires were made here and there for it; but without any public order, and also without any great demonstration of public joy expressed, but only by the Venetian ambassador, the mediator of the peace, who had many fireworks before his house.

I make no doubt but in France, though they seem to have the advantage upon us, they have been as glad in their hearts of this reconciliation, which they have as much and more need of than we.

In the mean time, sir, you may hear afore this letter comes into your hands, the unexpected, most doleful news that we have had from Greenwich this day of the queen's being suddenly brought to bed, as I hear, through a fright, of a dead prince, about two of the clock at night, which hath plunged the court and the city into a great grief, and disappointed the hopes and expectations of many. I do not yet know the true circumstance of this unhappy accident: only it may be a cause to add fears to our sorrows, that Chamberlain's help was used in her majesty's labour; if we are yet assured that her person, God be thanked, is, after such distress, in a reasonable good disposition.

Mr. Stroud and Mr. Long¹ having sued their Habeas Corpus, have been, after some further delays used by Mr. Attorney, put off till Saturday next.

For the matter of trade, we are still labouring at court to make it go forward. Yesterday, the French merchants were before the Lords about it, and are to give up their answer on Friday next.

Sir George Gresley,² Bart., to Sir Thos. Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, May 28, 1629.

My occasions falling out to keep me in town this vacation, I cannot but for your many courtesies acquaint you

¹ Two of the imprisoned members.

² He was created baronet May 12, 1611, being then seated at Drakedrow, in Derbyshire. He was member for Newcastle-under-Line in the parliament which began March 17, 1627-8.

with which occurrences, as I can upon the sudden call to mind. And first concerning the proceedings against the parliament prisoners in the Star Chamber on Whitsuntide: the attorney-general having informed the Lords that, instead of their answers to the bill of complaint, he had received pleas and demurrers against the power of that court to question any thing done in parliament, only Sir Peter Hayman¹ had answered to every part of the bill, and denied the charge thereof, yet joined in the demurrer against the jurisdiction of the court. Whereupon it was ordered by the court that the two chief justices should consider of the bill and demurrers, and so to deliver their opinion of the validity thereof on Friday next. The chief justices, especially Richardson, desiring the rest of the judges might be joined with them, it was answered that the lord chief baron should be only added to them; but the rest to be called as assistants to consult and advise with them, but not otherwise. Now it is said that Judge Croke is gone out of the town, that the chief baron will not meddle in the business, and that the two chief justices are resolved to return the censure thereof back again to the Lords.

Sir Peter Hayman hath so much enlargement for his ample answer, as Mr. Attorney termed it, as a confinement to his chamber, or for his health's sake to go into the country, so that he have one of the keeper's of the Gatehouse's men to attend him: but my foolish opinion is, that for all this show of favour he shall be censured as soon as any of the others.

The courtiers brag more of the merchants' condescending to trade than is cause: for though some have shipped away cloths that did lie upon their hands, yet it is said some of the same men deny to buy or send away more until the judges have delivered their opinions of the lawfulness thereof.

Captain Pennington is appointed by his majesty to go presently to sea with two of the king's ships and three of his whelps; the project and voyage yet unknown, but most conjecture for the Elbe. Here is talk of changing of officers, and Sir Randolph Crew to be master of the

¹ One of the prisoners.

wards, if his brother Sir Thomas will let him give money for it. Sir Henry Vane¹ is returned, and for his good service, which is yet kept secret, is to be comptroller, and my Lord Saville to take his ease in the country, being an old man. Mr. Wainsford to be cofferer in Vane's place. The Earl of Danby is discontent, and desires to go as ambassador into France, in that he shall not be deputy of Ireland as he was promised.

Sir Thomas Edmondes hath sold his crown office to one Willis, a lawyer of the Temple, for £6000, and goes ambassador to France, out of a hope at his return to be lord deputy of Ireland. But the truth is, the Lord of Falkland and the lord treasurer are to match two of their children together, and thereupon the Lord Falkland to continue lord deputy still. The painter² that comes from Brussels and Dunkirk to treat of peace with Spain, they say is arrived here.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, June 4, 1629.

First, for the Star Chamber, it was ordered, that Mr. Attorney should have leave to mend his information against the parliament-men in point of the prefixed day of the period of the parliament; and that the gentlemen should have liberty to alter their pleas and demurrers; or else to make new answers within eight days, in that their counsel urged that such alteration of the information might make that sufficient which now they held insufficient. Besides, that point was the ground of the pleas and demurrers they had now put in. It was, likewise, further ordered, that if my lord chief baron³ could not be at the debate of the business, which was to be before the judges on Tuesday last, by reason of his being sick of the gout, that then two chief justices⁴ should report their opinion of

¹ Ancestor of the Dukes of Cleveland. He figured prominently in the political history of the time, filled the highest offices in the State, and was ultimately principal secretary of state: but, being unhandsomely treated by the crown, and dismissed from his employment, sided with the parliament.

² The celebrated Rubens.

³ Sir John Walter.

⁴ Sir Nicholas Hyde and Sir Thomas Richardson.

their pleas and demurrers upon Friday or Saturday next; if so be they could be made by that time; the which I think they will not be.

The news of Essex is, that in Whitsun week Judge Crooke was sent thither, with a commission of oyer and determiner and of martial law, and thereupon called a privy sessions, and hanged one woman and three men, for breaking house in Maldon openly in the day-time, and taking only some corn, and the woman saying, "Come, my brave lads of Maldon, I will be your leader, for we will not starve."

The report from France is, that the king hath of late put all the Protestants of a town of Languedoc, as I take it, named Parnas, or such a like name, to the sword.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, June 10, 1629.

Mr. Lyttleton¹ so played his prize in the stating and arguing of our parliament-men's case at the King's Bench bar, on Friday, the first day of the term, that he hath won eternal praise, but seemed so to displease Mr. Attorney General,² that he denied to argue against that he said in the gentleman's behalf, either the next day, according to his own promise and rule of the course the last day of the last term, or to appoint any certain day, saying, he hoped he should not be denied the privilege of his place, to plead last, which he would perform at his best leisure, having at present too many weighty businesses lying on his hands. Whereupon, the court gave a rule for him to argue upon Tuesday following, if he could be ready; if not, upon the Saturday after that.

Saturday, the second day of the term, being appointed for the delivery of the two chief justices' and the chief baron's opinions concerning the gentlemen's demurrers in the Star Chamber, there was a great appearance of the lords and privy counsellors, and a great expectation what

¹ Afterwards lord keeper, and a peer.

² Sir Robert Heath.

the issue would be ; but proved, as my lord chamberlain was pleased to term it, the second part of England's joy ; for they only met, and sat in the court awhile, and rose again, without doing anything. Only the two chief justices informed the court that they had spent three forenoons in hearing the counsel on both sides, and two afternoons in conferring with the rest of the judges ; but had so many rolls and precedents to look over, that they were not yet ready to report their opinions thereof, but would do it so speedily as possible they might.

Upon Tuesday last, the gentlemen's keepers, notwithstanding Mr. Attorney's message to the contrary, brought them to the King's Bench bar, when Mr. Selden demanded censure of the court. The judges answering that Mr. Attorney was absent, and beginning to put cases, he replied, that it was in their power to give Mr. Attorney what time they pleased to argue ; and that they came not to dispute cases, but, in short, to receive justice of the court, which was, either to be bailed, which every one of them had ready, and named them ; or else to have Habeas Corpus, or a rule of court *de die in diem*, to attend their censure to the contrary. Whereupon there was a rule granted for their appearance again upon Thursday, and so from day to day, as they desired.

The same afternoon, the judges were all sent for to Greenwich, where the king alone, without any of his council being by, sent for them first, one by one, commanding them to declare their opinion, what he might do in the Star Chamber business, without either fear or flattery ; for he desired to know the truth : and afterwards asked them all together ; and, as the report goes, there was four against us, and eight with us ; of which one is turned Turk, and so remain yet seven on our side, if the lord keeper and lord privy seal (before whom, this afternoon, by command) persuade them not to the contrary.

I had almost forgot to have told you, that Mr. Stroud was so bold as to ask the judges whether they would not bail a seditious priest, though not seditious parliament-men, as they were charged to be ; and told them, that if

any of them should die in prison, their blood would be required at their hands.¹

There is a rumour of three new lords to be made for these employments. Mr. Humphrey May, to go deputy for Ireland; Sir Francis Cottingham ambassador into Spain; and Sir Thomas Edmondes into France; the last of which will be at his return out of France, if it be not done already.

Dr. Benjamin Laney² to the Rev. John Cosens.³

Winton House, June 25, 1629.

Your congratulations and well-wishes do add much to my living, though of itself as good as my hopes and desires, and as much as the service I am able to do in the church will fully employ; though it receive no addition, which your hopes and kind wishes would provide for me. I am very glad, and rejoice with you, that God hath bestowed on you the best comforts of marriage in another son; and long may he live, that you may enjoy them.

The times may seem to afford much news, yet no great matters have lately fallen out. There is great expectation of the success of the siege which the States of Holland, &c., have laid against a town of great consequence in the Netherlands. The Spanish party, in fear of it, have wrought, besides their forces at hand, the bringing down of * * * out of Germany; and for that purpose there is a peace concluded between the emperor and the King of Denmark: at least, it is so forward, that the commissioners

¹ It should be remembered, that the prisoners at their own suggestion brought their case before the judges, by a writ of Habeas Corpus, and sued to be discharged or bailed; but the king, in the same spirit of wanton injustice that had deprived them of their liberty, anticipated the judgment of the court—which must have been in their favour, by placing them in the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower, with strict orders against their removal for any purpose. After a while, however, the king became more rational, and sanctioned their liberation on good bail and ample security for good behaviour: these conditions, as they inferred some offence in the prisoners, they would not accept; and Charles next had recourse to his attorney general, who filed a criminal information against Eliot, Holles, and Valentine, who refused to plead to it, as they disclaimed the right of the Court of King's Bench to judge their conduct in parliament. Notwithstanding which, judgment was given against them, as will be seen in the sequel, as vindictively as subservient judges could render it.

² Afterwards bishop of Ely.

³ Prebendary, and afterwards bishop of Durham.

of both sides have concluded it, though the emperor and the king have not yet set their hands to it.

The nobility of both sides grow weary with the war; and it is like enough to have an end between them. But what the rest of the confederates will do, I cannot tell, or whether they be included, or any of them, in the peace. This will cause some alterations, however. I pray God it be for the best; for all this is not a taking away, but a change of the war only to their best advantage.

Sir Thomas Edmondes is gone ambassador into France, to finish the peace begun between them and us; which as yet is not gone beyond a cessation of arms; nor so far neither on the French side; for they have since done a great deal of spoil upon our English: but, according to their mutual consents, there must be account given of it.

Our greatest home-business hangs still in suspense. The merchants cannot be brought on to trade so freely as they were wont. Moneys come in slowly; and you know then what inconveniences follow in the court, murmuring among the servants and against the chief officers: and now the lord treasurer with them is as ill as ever was any; and every day, for a great time, the city hath removed him, and put the late-made Lord Wentworth in his place; a thing never thought on by those that should indeed do it. And my Lord of London is also in the city made lord keeper. But all these reports are only to work jealousies and hatred upon their persons and dissensions with their friends.

The gentlemen of the House of Commons, who were committed by his majesty, have followed the suit for their enlargement close; but, after long and often deferring judgment, towards the end of this term, a little before it was expected that the judges would enlarge them, it pleased the king to remove them out of those prisons wherein they had formerly been, into others; and so by that means their Habeas Corpus was avoided for the present; and now they must of necessity lie in prison till the next term, unless the king be merciful to them, which he is ready to be, if they will humbly sue for it: of which one or two of the company be already assured of, who

upon their petition obtained their liberty; and, for the rest, they may be thought unworthy of that they are not willing to ask: So long as subjects may have their liberty so cheap as for the asking, they were extremely to blame and unthankful to complain.¹

It seems Smart² is not yet called to account for his sermon and other pranks. It was thought fit to remove the hearing from hence to York; and it was undertaken by my Lord of York³ with much alacrity; and I hope they will not suffer it to die. What he may brag and talk in the mean time, who can help? No man hath the command of his loud tongue.

A couple of your beagles, Prynne⁴ and Burton,⁵ have obtained a prohibition against the commission here this term, for fear of that, it was thought fit, as I guess, to remove Smart's business to York. The lawyers have pared our ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the quick, and for any thing I can see the court hath nothing left but a neck only to be trod upon. If it go on thus, the commissioners may shut up shop.

The bishopric of St. Asaph is void, and it is hotly pursued by two Welsh competitors, Dr. Theodore Price⁶ and Dr. Williams, the latter of which it may be is not known to you, unless you can remember him a schoolmaster in the lord chamberlain's house, in which trade he still lives, and in reward of that service his lord doth vehemently promote his suit: but I hope the other will carry it.

¹ Truly a courtier's opinion.

² Prebendary of Durham, who was afterwards deprived of that dignity, and degraded.

³ Dr. Samuel Harsnet.

⁴ William Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, who, while denouncing the offences of the times, did not spare the offenders: they were both powerful and vindictive, and punished him with fines and mutilations.

⁵ Henry Burton, formerly chaplain to the king when Prince of Wales. He thought proper to assail the prelates of the church—of whose characters he must have been pretty well informed—as “blind watchmen, dumb dogs, ravening wolves, antichristian mushrooms, robbers of souls, limbs of the beast, and the factors for antichrist;” and, as may naturally be supposed, the whole hierarchy, with Laud at their head, assisted each other in hunting him down, and in worrying him when he was down.

⁶ Educated at New College, Oxford, prebendary and sub-dean of Westminster, and prebendary of Winchester. He died 15 December, 1631; and in his last sickness disclaimed the communion of the Church of England, and died in that of the Romish Church.—*Bishop Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams.*

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, June 28, 1629.

My stay here is prolonged by a perverse adversary, whose peevishness is such, that it will not suffer me to come down with my sister and brother Gybs, whom I promised not to prevent in presenting you with the passages of this last week. But the receipt of your lines and your lady's remembrance rouseth me from that laziness, and moveth me to give you a little touch of such things as they will at large inform you of; as the shift which was used on Saturday last to prevent the parliament-men of that liberty, which otherwise the law would have allowed them, had they but appeared in person, which they could not do by reason those that were in the Tower were by new warrants the night before committed to other prisons, and those in other prisons to the Tower. So that when their keepers were called to bring forth their prisoners, they had none such in their custodies. Whereupon the judges said it was not their parts to make them appear, but to remand them, bail them, or discharge them; which they were ready to do, according to their judgments upon that which had been argued on both parts.

Now I have done with our parliament-men, I will give you notice what befel Mr. Speaker¹ on Tuesday last in the rolls, in moving the master of the rolls to alter an order which he had made, and Sir John Finch did not like; and the master denying his motion, he out of the heaviness of his spirit said he must have it mended. The master replied he should not. Whereupon he said he would complain to the king that his counsel could neither be heard nor believed in that they said. Whereupon Sir Robert Rich gave him a kind of mild check, but Sir John Salter told him he were best make haste, or he would acquaint his majesty first with his insolent carriage towards a court of justice. Whereupon some of Gray's Inn, being by, cried out, "Degrade, degrade," by reason that by his persuasions a barrister of Gray's Inn was fairly put out of Commons; and so the gentlemen of the House are in a rebellion, and invite this barrister to dinner and supper every day, as their guest, to one mess or another. But

¹ Sir John Finch.

Sir John Finch hearing that noise behind him, and Sir John Salter asking him what it meant, he snatched up his papers and went away in a rage; and what will become of it time will show.

For the news of one of your Hertfordshire's high constables dying distracted; the King of Denmark's peace with the emperor; the Hollanders desire to entertain our English regiment; the number of the tons of our ordnance which is to be transported for the redemption of the king's jewels; and the hard usage of the French, if they be but pirates, which have of late taken twenty-two vessels of ours near the Isle of Wight, and many men more towards Wales, by cutting off our Englishmen's ears, and slitting their noses, and so sending them home, I wholly refer to my brother Gybs' relation; and what account shall fall out this present week I hope to be the writer of the next week.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 22 July, 1629.

Here is little done with the French ambassador till we hear out of France how his majesty's ambassador shall be dealt withal after the king's arrival at Paris, of whom we suppose that he had his first audience as upon Sunday last; the queen mother having refused to treat about any business with him, for want, as she pretended, of a sufficient commission. In the mean time, the release of such French prisoners as were here, which maketh us hope that the like favour will be showed to Sir Thomas Dishington and other English prisoners in France. He was also lately feasted by my lord treasurer at Roehampton, where the king did him the honour to be present at his coming back from Windsor. His majesty stayed here some four days, and on Monday went back with the queen to Greenwich; from whence her majesty is going to-morrow towards Tunbridge, where she intends to drink of the waters, and the king towards Theobald's.

Afore his departure he hath made an extraordinary commission of oyer and determiner, under the great seal, to sit upon that tumult mentioned in my last, for the

which it is thought that some of the captain's side will be severely punished, they being charged not only to have attempted the releasing by force of the prisoner Bellingem out of the serjeant's hands, and to have forced the constable's guard, but also to have gone about to raise a sedition by stirring up the gentlemen of the Temple. All the council are named to be of that commission, together with my lord mayor, the judges, and some others.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 25, St. James's, [1629].

The business of the Temple gentlemen is now, I doubt not, so much listened after, that I shall not need inform you any more particulars, as hearing them daily by others. Captain Stamford, he that was so great with the duke, is said to have been the ringleader and the chief inflamer of them, being himself with some other soldiers set on fire by the slaughter of one Dawson, a captain or lieutenant, who was in the rescue of the arrest run through the body with a halberd by some of the serjeant's party; though, as is said, he was little more than a bystander, and had no weapon about him.

My lord chief justice, we hear, is sent for, and gone up to London; and talked, there shall be an extraordinary assizes for the arraignment of the offenders. Our Saturday last's letters said there are warrants out for sixty gentlemen; and that it would certainly cost some of their lives. They talked there are many of them dead of the wounds they received; but I have seen yet no letters of this week.

On Thursday was sennight the French ambassador was feasted by my lord treasurer at his house of Roehampton, by Putney, and so were both their majesties; but whether at one table, my author said he could not tell; for he heard there was a new institution, or rather mutation, in court, whereby it is ordained that from henceforth no ambassador shall be seated any more at the king's table, but be entertained in that kind by some great officer, as useth to be done in Spain and France, and according as

my lord treasurer did now. Likewise, whereas his majesty was wont to answer the French ambassador in his own language, now he speaks in English and by an interpreter. And so doth Sir Thomas Edmondcs to the French king, contrary to the ancient custom; so that although of late we have not equalled them in arms, yet now we shall equal them in ceremonies.

Sir Henry Fane,¹ cofferer, a great creature of my lord treasurer, is to go ambassador extraordinary, first to the States, and then to the archduchess; but not yet known for what purpose, though imagined to make an overture of a peace between Spain and Holland.

Postscript out of a letter this day:—

“On Wednesday came forth a proclamation for the churgeons to discover to the lord president of the council, or one of the secretaries of state, all their patients (and lodgings) hurt in the late uproar; and commanding all officers to make search for and apprehend Captain Vaughan, H. Stamford,² and one Ward, an ensign, that were fled, and hid themselves, intimating withal that strict justice for example sake should be used against the authors and actors of that rather rebellion than riot. And on Thursday, at the Guildhall, in a purchased sessions, was Captain Ashenham,³ an Essex man, arraigned of murder, and John Stamford (the late duke’s man) as accessary thereunto; as also divers householders in Fleet Street for refusing to aid the constables, and abetting the gentlemen. The two first were found guilty, and had judgment of death, and were yesterday in the forenoon executed at Tyburn. Stamford’s wife and father made means to the duchess⁴ to move for his life; who answered, she would never open her mouth for murder, for her lord’s sake. Then they went to the queen, who presented their petition to his majesty, who, before he would receive it, said, ‘If it were for Stamford, he would not grant it; because, having before tasted of his grace, (when he murdered by night a watchman at

¹ Vane.

² “I know not whether this be the same Stamford with the following or not, for he is John.”—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

³ In a letter from Mr. Beaulieu he is called Ashworth.

⁴ Of Buckingham.

Duke Humfrey's) he had now made so ill use of it as to be the very motor and first occasioner of all this mischief.'

"The citizens were acquitted, but very sharply re-
proved."

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 19, 1629.

Mr. Pory wrote last week that the news of the massacre of our men and colony at St. Christopher's by eleven sail of French, whereof the Admiral of France, a ship of forty-six brass pieces, called *Le Roi*, was one, with the aid of 800 French, whom we had suffered to live with us in the same island, was spread all over court at the time of the solemnity at Windsor, which made many a sour look upon the ambassador for such barbarous cruelty in a time of treaty. Whereas, Captain Kirke, the last year at Canada, gave their nation not only quarter there, but also passage home in their ships.

But if the King of Spain's great fleet, which is now going for the Indies, do light upon them, it may perhaps (saith mine author) revenge our blood; for there are forty galleons and two merchant ships, with 7000 land soldiers aboard them, sent not only to guard home the Plate fleet, but with commission to sweep off all plantations, English, French, or Hollanders, which they shall find in their way.

That all the papists in Scotland, save some five hundred, have taken oath to conform themselves to the religion there established by law; and these five hundred, if they do not conform, shall be excommunicated, and then put to the horn, that is, prosecuted as rebels and outlaws.

Though the taking of Wesel be stale news, yet, having seen the copy of a letter from Mr. Dinely, tutor to the Prince Palatine's now eldest son, to Sir Henry Wotton thereabout, I will exscribe his relation of the manner thereof, though the letter be of an old date.

A relation of the surprise of Wesel.

"About a week before," saith he, "a great convoy was sending with provision to the enemy's camp; whereupon Colonel Didum, governor of Enmarick, with 1,400 (the

bruit said 2,200) firelocks, and Captain Quad and Helstein with 700 horse, were despatched under pretence to cut off the convoy; which the governor of Wesel, Losano, believing, strengthened it all he could, fully secured of the town. The convoy arrived in the Velen; but upon the 9th or 19th of August, by peep of day, Monsieur Didum was about the walls of Wesel, and finding the ditch dry and the rampart scaleable, entered not far from the fifth port, killed the watch, surprised the *corps de garde*, and let in divers of his men by the gate, who, marching up to the governor's house, took him prisoner in his bed, and made him walk with the keys to another gate, where the rest of the people stood, which being opened, they all entered, and became masters of the town. By chance, the chains, which used to be drawn, were forgotten that night, whereby the horse had no impeachment.¹ There was in the garrison two companies of Spaniards, two of Walloons, two of Burgundians, and one troop of horse. Such as made resistance were slain; the rest retired into a fort without the town, which the next day was abandoned, and fifty officers were taken prisoners. All was done in good order; the burghers neither appeared in the action, nor were pillaged. Only the King of Spain's cloth shop was rifled, because his majesty, they say, played the draper."

Thus, Mr. Dinely, three days after it was taken, namely, on the 22nd of August, old style.

The French ambassador comes hither on Wednesday next, and they say our chancellor² with him. On Thursday, we have an act for him at the schools. Whether the comedy at Trinity will be ready, I know not. Some say they cannot get their lessons.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 26, [1629].

I suppose you are before this safe returned from Stow, and have received my letter; now, I will add such as we have since heard of occurrences either at home or abroad. And first, concerning St. Christopher's, Mr. Boswell, who

¹ Impediment.

² The Earl of Holland.

bath some interest there, told me here on Tuesday, at night, that he had talked with and diligently inquired of those who came thence, and found they knew nothing certain, but that the French boarded our ships in the road; that they saw some of our men fall into the sea, but whether voluntarily to swim to shore, or otherwise, they could not certainly tell; that our fort thereupon shot some thirty shot at the French, but what hurt they did amongst them they knew not; that themselves, in their flight, were a long time chased by the French. And Mr. B. thought they were going to Newfoundland, and took our ships by the way, either to strengthen themselves against Captain Kirke, or to deceive him, as he did them last year. And yesterday I received a letter from Mons. de Vic, secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes, that came but on Wednesday out of France, affirms the French took only our ships, and departed, without landing. Howsoever, the French ambassador seems to be much moved at whatsoever is done, and vows restitution. And my Lord of Carlisle protesteth unto the merchants, whom it concerneth as well as himself, that, if restitution be not made, he will spend all he hath, to his shirt, and all his credit, to force satisfaction. Our merchants have also sent their agents to Dieppe to require restitution of the Great St. James and the Benediction, two of our prime merchant ships taken by the French, the one on the coast of Barbary, the other on the coast of Guinea, and brought into that port. They say, if our king will grant them letters of marque, they will desire no other remedy than what themselves shall find. But the letters I received yesterday report farther, that the French, not contented with taking those ships, and others of our nation, at the Canaries and St. Christopher's, have arrested our English ships at Calais and Rouen, under pretext that Captain Kirke had destroyed their plantations and fortifications at Canada.

Burlamachi is gone over to Amsterdam in one of the king's ships, to redeem the jewels of the crown, there pawned by the duke.

It was reported in last week's letters that the whole county of Cornwall had presented unto his majesty a

petition in behalf of the gentlemen prisoners, that they might enjoy the benefit of the Petition of Right, and be set at liberty. Yesterday's letter says, that the said gentlemen had taken out their writs of Habeas Corpus, and should be released by way of bail the first day of the term; and that my Lady Apsley sent one of them, on Wednesday, that her husband, the lieutenant,¹ was gone to the court about their release, and carried with him the barbed arrow which Mr. Selden so narrowly escaped, because his majesty was desirous to see it.

The French ambassador came hither on Wednesday, about three o'clock, and our chancellor with him, and was lodged at Trinity College. That night came also my Lord of Warwick, with very many horse. On Thursday morning, they had an act at the schools well performed; went thence to our Regent House, to be incorporated, where the orator entertained him with a speech, then dined at Trinity College, where were great provisions sent in before by our chancellor, and a gentleman of his also with them to order that part of the entertainment. At three o'clock they went to the comedy, which was "*Fraus Honesta*,"² acted some years since; the actors now were not all so perfect as might have been wished, yet came off handsomely. The music was not so well supplied as heretofore, said those who have skill that way. On Friday morning, they visited many of the colleges, where they were entertained with speeches and banquets, and, among the rest, at ours and Emmanuel. From thence they went to Peter House, the vice-chancellor's³ college, where was also a banquet, and where the orator⁴ made the farewell speech. All this was so early done that they went hence to London that night.

¹ Of the Tower.

² Written by Mr. Stubbe, Fellow of Trinity College.

³ Dr. Matthew Wren.

⁴ Robert Creighton, educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He succeeded Mr. George Herbert in the place of orator, in 1627; and, after the Restoration, became Dean of Wells, and, in 1670, Bishop of Bath and Wells. He died, November 21, 1672, aged about seventy-nine.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 10, 1629.

It may be I shall not do amiss to acquaint you with something out of the sphere of my wonted intelligence. There was a gentleman that had belonged to the Earl of Marlborough,¹ who was very inquisitive of your estate, whether Mr. Stuteville was yet unmarried, and of his freedom in that respect. To whom, when I had made him answer, as I thought fitting, I desired to know the reason why he asked these questions. He seemed at first unwilling to tell me; but being but a little pressed, he told me that one of the Earl of Marlborough's daughters had been commended to Mr. Stuteville; that he seemed to listen thereunto; and some notice had been taken that way. I asked what their portions were. He told me £2000 apiece (there being two of them), and fell to commend the gentlewomen exceedingly, and, above all, for their discretion in behaviour, &c. I replied, that portion was but small, and nothing comparable to that respect they would challenge in regard of their father's honour, which perhaps might be reputed an inconvenience, as circumstances might be. This was the sum of our discourse, which I thought not fit to conceal.

I send you Mr. Pory's letter, with a corranto, nor have I any other news as yet.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 17, 1629.

Our news, received last Saturday, was this: that on Saturday before, viz., October 3, by virtue of a writ of Habeas Corpus from the judges of the King's Bench to the Lieutenant of the Tower, four of those seven gentlemen prisoners, to wit, Mr. Holles, Sir Miles Hobart, Mr. Long, and Mr. Valentine, were brought before their lordships to my lord chief justice's chamber, at Serjeant's Inn, and were presently put into four several rooms. Mr. Long, being first called forth, was told by the lord chief justice, it was his majesty's gracious pleasure they should be released, so

¹ Sir James Ley, late lord treasurer and president of the council.

they would put in bail for their good behaviour; which motion Mr. Long a good while withstood; but having one Mr. Earle of his counsel then present, his lordship advised him to retire himself, and so to confer with his counsel about the matter. Mr. Earle had the power to persuade him; so he returned, and, together with his sureties, entered a recognizance for his good behaviour. The judge would have had him bound *de die in diem*, to a time indefinite, which he refused, and so was bound over only till the Friday following, being the first day of the term. But when he saw those other three gentlemen that came with him absolutely refuse to enter into any such bond, he then much repented him of what he had done, and besought the judges, that whereas he had been circumvented and surprised by weak counsel, they would be pleased to render him his recognizance, and so remand him to prison with the rest. Whereunto they answered, it was not in their power to revoke it; so he went home melancholy to his mother's house, and the day following, received the communion at Mr. Shute's¹ church, in Lombard Street. The same day, at five in the afternoon, not only those three that came with Mr. Long, but the other three also, viz., Sir John Eliot, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Stroud, were brought by the lieutenant to the same place before the same persons, where all of them, with one voice, told the judges they neither would nor could enter into any such bond; because for them to be bound to their good behaviour would argue and imply they had misbehaved themselves in parliament, whereby they should betray their innocency and liberty. Besides, Mr. Selden affirmed that the Habeas Corpus, which those judges had sent to the lieutenant for them, was illegal, because it was wrong directed, viz., *Constabulario*, whereas it should have been, *Locum-tenenti Turris*, and therefore all proceedings grounded thereupon must be void in law.

On Friday following, being the fifth day of term, those six gentlemen, by virtue of their own Habeas Corpus, which themselves had sued out, were brought by Mr. Lieu-

¹ Josias Shute, M.A., who was instituted into the rectory of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, in 1611, and died in 1643.

tenant to the King's Bench bar. Where first my lord chief justice told them it was his majesty's pleasure they should be set at liberty, if, according to the manner of proceeding in that court, they would put in bail for their good behaviour: and he was seconded by the rest of the judges his brethren. Mr. Selden for himself in particular (as all the other gentlemen did) answered, that until Saturday before, notwithstanding they had formerly been brought four times to the same bar, there had never been word nor thought of any such matter as to be bound to the good behaviour: and that, for his particular, he durst not enter into any such bond, for fear of the displeasure of a future parliament, where he might be justly censured for a betrayer of the liberty of the subject. Nevertheless, he said, in case their lordships would bail them simply out of the present condition they now stood, which merely reflected upon things said and done in parliament, then being in the state of free men, none of them all would refuse to bring in their sureties for their good behaviour, in such manner as their lordships shall require. My lord chief justice told them, that in the return of the writ there was no mention at all of parliament, but only contempt of government and sedition; which were causes sufficient whereupon to require good behaviour. Whereto Mr. Selden replied, that in cases both of felony and treason there had men been bailed in that court without any putting in bond for their good behaviour. My lord chief justice's last resolution was, that if they still refused to put in bail for their good behaviour, they might, for aught he knew, continue prisoners there seven years longer: that now, if they would accept of it, the favour of the court was offered them, which, if they now did refuse, it would not be so easy for them to attain unto another time.

All the gentlemen in particular speak for themselves; but when nothing prevailed, Mr. Stroud propounded two suits unto the judges: one, that they might once a week come to that bar to demand their liberty; another was that they might go to church on Sundays. To which the judges answered nothing. Sergeant Ashley,¹ father-in-law

¹ Sir Francis Ashley, of Dorchester, in Dorsetshire.

to Mr. Holles, did offer, together with other sureties, to bail him, in case he would be bound to the good behaviour. But Mr. Holles gave him thanks for his courteous offer. The same time Mr. Long was also required by the judges to renew his recognizance for his good behaviour, who declared unto them, that neither his sureties would enter into any such bond, nor himself neither. Whereupon my lord chief justice told him he should now have his desire, viz., to return to prison. So he was committed to the King's Bench, and the other six remanded to the Tower.

In the mean time was my lord chief baron (Walter) suspended from his place; and it is talked Judge White-locke succeeds him. They talked also of some other, as Judge Crooke, who, together with my lord chief baron, have a writ of ease. But my lord chief baron's is not yet sealed, though much feared.

There is news from St. Christopher's, by a ship richly laden come thence, that the French, having taken seven of our ships, came also, some eight hundred of them, on land, intending to conquer the island. But ours, being fifteen hundred, had retired themselves from the fort to a thicket wherein they had placed some pieces of ordnance, which so well played their part upon the secure French coming to assault them, that some three hundred being slain, the rest were presently environed by ours, which lay hid in the thicket, who then cried for a parley, and redeemed their lives with the restitution of the ships they had taken. Among the residue which were slain by the cannon, a kinsman of the cardinal's, being general of the same forces, was one. There were but twenty-five of ours slain.

I received a letter from the D.¹ yesternight, who says, it was said Sir Francis Cottington took his leave on Sunday to go for Spain; but others affirmed he was yet stayed a fortnight longer. That my lord treasurer should be made Earl of Romford. It is said the Spaniard offers peace with large conditions unto the States; which that people is afraid will be accepted; but some think not, unless France consent thereto.

¹Dr. Meddus.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 22, 1629.

On Monday last, the king and queen came back to the town, but the next day the king went to Theobald's, there to stay only till Saturday; and then he is to come and stay for good and all at Whitehall. He hath lately made some alteration in his court, by the putting down of some tables, as, namely, those of the lord privy seal, the lord president, and one of the principal secretaries, and by cutting off the board-wages, and making such other reformatations in the household as tend to the sparing of the king's purse.

The sentence is not yet come to my lord chief baron for the putting him out of his place, and his friends are in some hope, that he shall stay in it, he having some good friends about the king that labour to keep him in it. Sir Francis Cottington is not yet gone, but hath taken his leave of his majesty, and is to depart this week, carrying Mr. Pecke, one of the king's chaplains, along with him, who is specially commanded by his majesty to attend him in this journey; wherein there is no doubt made but that he shall effect a peace with the Spaniards as matters stand with them at this time, which hath made their pride to come down so low as to seek for it at their greatest enemies' hands. As soon as Sir Francis Cottington shall be embarked at Portsmouth, Sir Henry Vane shall be despatched into Holland; and the ship that shall carry him is at her coming home to take in Don Carlos Colonna at Dunkirk, and to bring him hither. We are also expecting shortly the ambassador named Monsieur de Fontenay Mareuil, who is to come out of France to reside here, for whom my Lord Dorset's house hath been hired for £300 the year. With the priests that are to come from thence, they have obtained that an *overseer* shall also come to govern them, who indeed is a bishop, but hidden under that name. Their lodgings are provided near the Tennis Court in Somerset House, which Tennis Court is to be converted into a church for them.

Captain Kirke is come back from Canada, and hath

brought the Frenchmen prisoners that were there, having taken their forts, and left an English garrison in them.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, October 24, 1629.

The news of this place and time I presume you have from better pens. Yet, I had rather be a little troublesome than condemned of neglect. The lord chief baron was on Thursday last sequestered from sitting in the Exchequer Court; but the warrant for his discharge is not as yet signed. It is rumoured that Judge Whitelocke shall be his successor; the solicitor a judge; and Sir John Finch, solicitor.

What passed between the judges and our parliament gentlemen upon their appearance the first day of the term, the enclosed will inform you, as well as I was able to take it.

The queen, as the report goes, is a great purchaser both for her love and money: for they say she hath obtained to have eight capuchins, eight other priests, and one bishop, to come presently over, and that she hath bought all the houses between Somerset House and the Mitre Tavern, and will build a gallery towards the street for herself, and lodgings for the religious men. And some say Somerset Tennis Court must be turned into a chapel.

My Lord of Dorset is become a great husband; for he hath let his house in Salisbury Court unto the queen for the Ambassador Leiger of France, which is daily expected to come over, to lie in, and giveth for it £350 by the year, and for the rest of his stables and outhouses towards the water side, he hath let for £1000 fine and £100 by the year rent, unto the master of the revels, to make a playhouse for the children of the revels.

Count Henry Vandenberg is, if not beaten, as some say, out of the * * * certainly marched away; for which good news the States' ambassador here hath had a fast, and given God thanks.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, November 15, 1629.

This day sennight Sir John Eliot and Mr. Valentine were removed to the King's Bench, to keep Mr. Long company. On Friday Mr. Holles was set at large, upon putting in bail for his good behaviour. His sureties were Sergeant Ashley and Mr. Noy, who were bound in £500 a-piece, and himself in £1000. Mr. Selden, Mr. Stroud, and Sir Miles Hobart, remain in the Tower, but have the liberty thereof.

The lord chief baron denies the delivery up of his patent, unless they can convict him of some misdemeanour, yet they say he must out; and, as the report goes now, Mr. Attorney of the Wards shall succeed him therein; Mr. Noy be attorney of the Wards; and the lord treasurer master of that court. It is said also, that he shall be made an earl and knight of the garter; and having put down the tables at court, [the king] will now reduce the attendants therein to a certain number, as they were in Queen Elizabeth's time. And, for example, all the queen's are suspended, but these six following, viz.—Tyrwhit, Pringle, Sydenham, Jermyn, Howsden, and Fielding.

The lord president of the north¹ and the archbishop of York are come up to be sworn of the privy council. The Earl of Clare is committed to the custody of Sir William Becher.

Sir Robert Cotton's study and writings were suddenly seized upon, and himself committed close prisoner to the Bishop of Ely's.² Mr. Selden's papers likewise seized on in the Tower, yet hath the liberty thereof. The cause of all this is not as yet certainly known, but the rumour is for suspicion of compiling some libellous book, or for privily conveying a defamatory precedent into the King's Bench Court.

I have sent you the bill of such as are in election to be sheriff for our circuits.

The Countess of Dover³ died this last week at Hunsdon.

¹ Thomas, Lord Viscount Wentworth.

² Dr. Buckeridge.

³ Judith, daughter of Sir Thomas Pelham, of Sussex, Bart., and wife of Henry Hunsdon, created Earl of Dover, March 8, 1628.

The queen is reported to be with child. And to conclude, for foreign news, the Queen of Spain is brought to bed of a young prince; and the plague is very great in Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and Languedoc.

Dr. Samuel Harsnett¹ to Sir Henry Vane².

London, November 6, 1629.

On Tuesday, in the evening, there were sent Mr. Vice-chamberlain and others to seal up Sir Robert Cotton's library, and to bring himself before the Lords of his majesty's council. There was found in his custody a pestilent tractat, which he had fostered as his child, and had sent it abroad into divers hands, containing a project how a prince may make himself an absolute tyrant. This pernicious device he had communicated by copies to divers lords, who, upon his confession, are questioned and restrained. My Lord of Somerset sent to the Lord Bishop of London, the Lord Clare to the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lord Bedford I know not well to whom. Cotton himself is in custody. God send them well out.

Dr. Samuel Harsnett to Sir Henry Vane.

London, November 7, 1629.

Yesterday his majesty was pleased to sit in council, with all the board, and commanded that devilish project found upon Sir Robert Cotton to be read over unto us. For mine own, I never heard a more pernicious, diabolical device, to breed seditious humours amongst the people. His majesty was pleased to declare his royal pleasure touching the lords and others restrained for communicating that project, which was to proceed in a fair, moderate, mild, legal course with them, by a bill of information preferred into the Star Chamber, whereunto they might make their answer by the help of the most learned counsel they could procure; and though his majesty had in his power most justly and truly to restrain them till the cause was adjudged, yet out of his princely clemency he commanded the board to call them, and to signify unto

¹ Archbishop of York.

² At this period ambassador at the Hague.

them his majesty's gracious clemency; which was, that the restraint should be taken off them, and their free liberty given them to attend their cause in the Star Chamber. They were severally called in before the Lords, the king being risen, and acquainted by the keeper with his majesty's gracious favour. Two never spoke word, expressing any thankfulness for his majesty's so princely goodness; two expressed much thankfulness, which were my Lord of Bedford and Sir Robert Cotton. St. John and James are still in prison; and further than unto these the paper reacheth not in direct travel, save to Selden, who is contained in the bill of information. I fear the nature of that contagion did spread farther, but as yet no more appeareth. I am of opinion it will fall heavy on the parties delinquent.

[Sir Simonds D'Ewes's account of this affair, in his autobiography, the MS. of which is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, vol. 646, is as follows:—

[" Amongst other books he [Mr. Richard James] lent out, one Mr. John, of Lincoln's Inn, a young, studious gentleman, borrowed of him for his money a dangerous pamphlet, that was in written hand; by which a course was laid down, how the kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. St. John shows the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy of it; and so it passed from hand to hand, in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow, he then kept in his house, to transcribe it; which infallibly proves that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come out of his library. This untrusty fellow imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself, when he wrote another for Sir Robert, and out of his own transcript sold away several copies; till at last one of them came to the Lord Wentworth's hand, of the north, now lord deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the lords and others of the privy council with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and

examining him where he had the written tract, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon, in the beginning of November, in the same year 1629, Sir Robert Cotton was examined, and so divers others, one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last Mr. St. John himself was appeached, and, being conceived to have been the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it. Upon his examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same manuscript pamphlet of that wretched, mercenary fellow, James, who by this means proved the wicked instrument of shortening the life of Sir Robert Cotton; for he was presently thereupon sued in the Star Chamber, his library locked up from his use, and two or more of the guard set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me, they had broken his heart, that had locked up his library from him. I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident; and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honourable personages, as well as by learned men of all sorts, remained now upon the matter desolate and empty. I understood from himself and others, that Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first session of parliament, in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn within a few months with anguish and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well-coloured, such as the picture I have of him shows, was wholly changed into a grim, blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage. I heard it certainly affirmed, that the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his house, and had employed to transcribe the said written tractate, was his bastard, which shows God's admirable justice, to cause the spurious issue of his fatal lust to prove the immediate instrument of his final ruin. I at one time advised him to look into himself, and seriously to consider why God had sent this chastisement upon him, which it is possible he did; for I heard from

Mr. Richard Holdisworth, a great and learned divine, that was with him in his last sickness, a little before he died, 'that he was exceeding penitent, and was much comforted in the faithful expectation of a better life.' "

[Mr. James, mentioned by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, was Richard James, fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, born at Newport in the Isle of Wight, and writer of several sermons both in Latin and English. He died at the house of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart., in the beginning of December, 1638.—Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i., col. 615-617. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his Life of himself, fol. 140, gives a very severe character of him, styling him an atheistical, profane scholar, but otherwise witty and moderately learned; and he informs us, that he had so screwed himself into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, "as whereas, at first, he had only permitted him the use of some of his books, at last, some two or three years before his death, he bestowed the custody of his whole library on him. And he being a needy, sharking companion, and very expensive, like old Ralph Starkie, when he lived, let out or lent out Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for money, to any that would be his customers, which Sir Robert was wont to lend freely to his noble and loving friends; which I once made known to Sir Robert Cotton before the said James's face."]

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 7, 1629.

The news we received this day sennight was as followeth: That on Thursday at night that week, Sir John Eliot, Mr. Holles, and Mr. Valentine, were removed out of the Tower to the King's Bench. That Mr. Holles was so much importuned by his wife and her friends, as it was said he would yield at length to be bound to his good behaviour. That the other three also then remaining in the Tower were to be disposed to other prisons. That the same Thursday, Mr. Chambers, by virtue of an Habeas Corpus, appeared at the King's Bench bar, to plead for his liberty; but it was denied him by the judges, and he

was remanded to the Tower. And the reason they gave was, that they could not release any by Habeas Corpus who had been committed by the Star Chamber, or Chancery, or Court of Requests. And it was supposed he had the like success with his demurrer the day following, in the Exchequer, as touching his plea against the proceeding of the Star Chamber against him.

The tables in court were reduced to Queen Elizabeth's number; and likewise the king's pensions are to be conformable to hers. As, for example, whereas the gentlemen pensioners' allowance was augmented from £50, in Queen Elizabeth's time, to £100 in King James's reign; now, under King Charles, they are drawn back to £50 again. So, likewise, the gentlemen of the chapel, from their £40 of King James's time, to their £30 of Queen Elizabeth's time, *et sic de cæteris*. By which means, one told my author, his majesty would save £50,000 per annum. And, although they were thus curbed, yet would it be better for the generality of pensioners, in case they might be paid as currently as they were in Queen Elizabeth's days, when nothing upon earth was surer than Exchequer pay. And, for a conclusion, my author saith, he heard wise men say, that whereas his majesty's pensions were now risen to above £70,000 a-year, Queen Elizabeth's never came to above £17,000. The courtiers, some say, are afraid, yet for all this, they shall be put to board wages, the speech only whereof discontents them.

Sir Francis Cottington went towards Portsmouth on his ambassage, on Monday that week, and was now at length really gone, maugre the French ambassador, who, with all the strength he had, opposed his journey, and used the queen's assistance therein. So that when Sir Francis Cottington came to take his leave of her, and to know what service her majesty would be pleased to command him to her sister, answered him as I told you in my last.¹ And then, when she could not prevail with his majesty to cross the ambassage, she shed tears in anger.

Sir Henry Vane is also gone Leiger unto the Hague; and the Lyon of the king's, having landed him at Flushing,

¹ That she would have nothing to do with Spain, nor with any person there.

is then to bring Don Carlos de Colonna, the Spanish ambassador, from Dunkirk hither. That the week before, two small Dunkirkers took four Amsterdam ships, bound for London, and thought to have much money in them. There was a fifth, which escaped. They had a tall man-of-war to convoy them; but, at the first bout, it was shot between wind and water, and forced to make towards land. The Dunkirkers also then took an English ship that came from the East countries, and two coal-ships. The great tide in the Thames did more than £10,000 damage in Thames Street, in cellars, shops, and warehouses, and made three or four breaches from Blackwall towards Gravesend, whereby much cattle and sheep were drowned, grass and corn spoiled. They say it was near three feet higher than any man can remember.

On Wednesday was sennight, one Coe, a solicitor-at-law, was in the Star Chamber censured to perpetual banishment, because he had written something in disgrace of my lord keeper and judge Richardson. I saw but one letter yesterday, which being not purposely of news, had only thus much, that on Wednesday morning last, the Earl of Clare and Sir Robert Cotton were both committed; the earl to the Bishop of Winchester's custody, but Sir Robert, my author knew not then whither. It was written from the court. I expect to hear more to-day, and the reason; for I doubt it is true.

Dr. Wren is not again elected vice-chancellor, nor sought to be; but Dr. Butts, of Benet. They say he may, if he will, be bishop of Rochester, that bishop¹ being removed to Bath and Wells; and so all Dr. Prideaux's friends can do nothing. I send you two books, the "English Gentleman" and "Spanish Pilgrim,"² the author³ of the last being your countryman, and some twenty-four years old, and was in town here, and gave to

¹ Dr. Walter Curle.

² "The English Spanish Pilgrim; or, a Discourse of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Stratagems."

³ James Wadsworth, son of James Wadsworth, B.D., of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who, attending Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador into Spain, as his chaplain, embraced there the Romish religion. His son, who had been educated under the Jesuits, at St. Omer's, came to England, and declared himself a Protestant.

every head of a college one of his books. Read it, and you will see strange passages of a young man's miseries.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 18, 1629.

On Sunday last, the earls of Bedford, Somerset, and Clare, together with Sir Robert Cotton, were brought before the Lords, and from thence were set at liberty for their persons, but yet bound to answer in the Star Chamber to such informations as should be laid against them. Mr. St. John remaineth yet in the Tower, and Mr. James in the custody of a justice of peace in Westminster. What further proceeding will be against them we shall shortly see. By my last, I did let you understand how some new lords had been sworn of the privy council; to whose number my Lord of Falkland, lately returned out of Ireland, hath been since added.

Upon the French ambassador's great complaints against Kirke, for his action in Canada, the matter hath been debated in council; and it is thought that, for the good of the peace, the place will be restored unto the French, although there is nothing as yet resolved about. Neither is there any order hitherto taken between the two states, for the settling of the trade for the time to come, or the satisfying of the merchants' complaints for the time past. My Lord of Carlisle, to his loss of St. Christopher's Island, hath a new affliction added, by the loss of his only daughter, who died yesternight, of an imposthume that she had in her head. My Lady of Oxford¹ is in another tune, being married, since Thursday last, to my Lord Bruce².

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 12, 1629.

The news we had on Saturday last was as followeth: that the Earls of Somerset and Clare, together with Sir

¹ Diana, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William, Lord Burghley, son and heir to Thomas, Earl of Exeter, and widow of Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford.

² Thomas, second son of Edward Bruce, baron of Kinloss, master of the rolls.

Robert Cotton, had petitioned his majesty, as it was said, but not to decline the Star Chamber, in which their business was still depending. For on Monday that week, November 30, was an order made, " That whereas the said earls had answered unto the information against them upon their honours, and not upon oath, as was usually in that court; and that, notwithstanding they were persons of honour, his majesty might justly refuse to accept them, notwithstanding the pretence of any declaratory order to the contrary in the higher house of parliament, which, without the consent of the Commons and his majesty's royal assent, might not alter the settled course of law, or the constant rules of other courts; nevertheless, his majesty, to show to the world how far he is from using strict proceedings in his own case, (as this is) was willing to dispense with the breach of the rules of the court in this particular; and that the said answers put in by the said earls without oath should be allowed; but so that this be not any precedent against the king or any others in any case which might happen hereafter. And, upon the motion of Mr. Attorney, it was farther ordered, that the said earls and other defendants should answer to the interrogatories within one week; and that Mr. Oliver St. John, Esq., and Richard James, gent., should be made defendants to the said information, and their names inserted therein, and they two to put in their answers within eight days, and to be examined upon interrogatories within four days after. Notwithstanding which order, Mr. St. John and Mr. James cannot be inserted in the information, because Mr. Attorney hath not in the same prayed that particular with his majesty.

On Saturday (this day fortnight) Sir John Eliot, Mr. Holles, and Mr. Valentine joined with Mr. Attorney in the demurrer concerning the jurisdiction of the King's Bench; and the day appointed for arguing the same is the second day of the next term. At the same time, the counsel of Sir Miles Hobart and Mr. Stroud moved, that they might be permitted to go about their business, as well as the residue were. But the judges answered, the Tower was out of their jurisdiction; but, if they would remove them-

selves by Habeas Corpus from thence into the King's Bench, then it would be in their power to give them such leave as they demanded.

On Monday morning, it being moved by Mr. Selden's counsel, in the Star Chamber, that he might be permitted freely to go up and down about his business, his request was granted. But Sir John Eliot and Mr. Valentine desiring of the judges, by their counsel, to be bailed, were again answered, that unless they would observe the rules of the court to be bailed to their good behaviour, they might lie by it these seven years.

On Saturday also, November 28, Mr. Fowkes, the merchant, was, by virtue of his Habeas Corpus, bailed out of the Fleet, at the King's Bench bar, namely, after he had submitted himself to the Exchequer, and yielded to pay tonnage and poundage for all his goods.

I should have told you a story in my last, but that I feared my lady¹ would impute it to my want of respect to that much-to-be-considered and honoured order, if I should be too rash to blab upon the first intelligence that which so much concerned the reputation thereof. But now hearing it confirmed, I will beg leave to tell it as I last heard it. The Lady Lawrence, of Gloucestershire, being to be godmother to a child, desired of the minister that her chaplain might baptize it, which he refusing to grant, or so much as to give leave to have it baptized in any other parish, (which was desired) she was fain to be content that he should do it. But holding the child at the font, when the minister had sprinkled the water, she took it away, and the minister reading still on, and offering, when he came at the words, to cross it, she turned up the child's backside, bidding him cross that. When this was done, fearing the minister would complain thereof to the high commission, where she would be severely censured, she endeavoured, by a worse means, to prevent him. She conspired with an attorney's wife to accuse the minister of an attempt to have ravished her; which the attorney's wife accordingly complaining of to justice, and finding that, in respect of the minister's untainted honesty, the

¹ Stuteville.

business was suspected, went up to London to complain there; where, meeting with her husband, and he demanding the occasion of her coming up, when she had told him as aforesaid, he suspected likewise, and would not leave her, till she had confessed she was suborned by the Lady Lawrence, who is thereupon brought into the Star Chamber to answer it, and her son (he that married a gentlewoman your neighbour) bound in £4000 for her appearance.¹

The gentleman whose son slew his mother is Sir William Dorrington, of Hampshire, held one of the worthiest knights of these parts, but was son to that Mr. Dorrington that threw himself down, many years since, from St. Sepulchre's steeple. This unhappy young man was his second son, and had been a scholar of Oxford, a very debauched gentleman, and some say drunk at this time, others, in a frantic melancholy. His mother came up into his chamber to reprove him for some misbehaviour in this unfit mood, and so occasioned this heavy accident.

There was at the end of the term a mad case censured in the Star Chamber. A knight bachelor falling out upon some words with a baronet, the baronet told him he was a better man than he. The knight asked, Why? The baronet replied that, by the dignity of baronet, he was *honourable*, the knight but *worshipful*. The knight, in indignation, said he would beat his honour out at his * * ; and thereupon bummed him soundly, pretending he did to drive out his honour at the back door as aforesaid. The knight was fined £500, and the baronet exceedingly laughed at, and so was the business ended.

After Don Carlos, the expected Spanish ambassador, refused to come, there was, upon notice thereof, a messenger despatched instantly after Sir Francis Cottington, but wherefore I know not. This, it seems, occasioned the report he was come back. I send you the conclusion of the business between the town and our University; I mean, the order of the king and council.

¹ We felt some scruples about printing this statement—but, as it is vouched for as a fact that came under the cognizance of one of the tribunals, we unwillingly allow it to stand exactly as it was written.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 16, 1629.

There is little come to my knowledge for public occurrences that I could have presented you withal, saving only that upon the resolution taken by the King of France to go shortly with an army towards the frontier of Champagne, where it is conceived that his majesty's ambassador extraordinary's presence would be but unserviceable, letters have been written both for his revocation out of that place, and for Sir Isaac Wake's revocation also from the court of Savoy to come and supply the place of ambassador ordinary in France, which letters, I suppose, by this time, to be come to both the places; so as very shortly we may expect the coming back of Sir Thomas Edmondes hither, unless some new growing occasion do cause a protraction of his departure from thence; where all this while, through that unhappy difference about the precedence with the cardinal, I cannot perceive that he hath done anything, besides the receiving of the king's oath for the ratification of the peace, but the procuring of Sir Thomas Dishington's and Iton's, the engineer's, release out of prison, having not been able hitherto to get any restitution of the English ships and goods that have been taken since the publishing of the peace, nor any order made for the settling of the trade and commerce for the time to come. And here is a speech that Monsieur de Châteauneuf, who hath done as little here, is also shortly to be revoked, and Monsieur de Fontenay Mareuil in the way coming to be Lieger here, who will bring the Capuchins along with him, and, as I hear, a bishop, under the title of *aulmosnier*, to be over them, and a Catholic physician for the queen, to be near her in any occasion of her sickness, and especially when she shall be brought to bed. The queen mother stood hard also for a French lady of honour to be about her majesty, but that would not be yielded unto.

They are still labouring here to make up a navy, and very shortly, as I hear, they will have a hundred good ships ready to put to sea. Don Carlos de Colonna, since my last writing, hath given assurance hither, by his letters,

that he will be now very shortly here, and hath caused all necessary provisions to be made for his house. Whereupon, another post hath been despatched to Sir Francis Cottington into Spain, to will him (as it is supposed) to go forward in his journey and negociation. Of Sir Henry Vane I have heard nothing as yet since his going over.

The Dunkirkers are abroad, with twenty-eight ships, to watch, as it is thought, the coming back of Burlamachi out of Holland with the king's jewels, which he went some three months ago to redeem for a certain quantity of ordnance, which his majesty is to give to them that had them in pawn.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 19, [1629].

I have no news to tell you; all our intelligence the last Saturday failed, save that the doctor,¹ writing of his private business, told us besides, that they then laid wagers at London, *pro* and *con.*, for the summons of a parliament after Christmas. But, as I hear this week, the hopes thereof have no probability, if it be true that his majesty means to be for Scotland in April, and hath summoned a parliament to be held there in May, with which news Marquis Hamilton is ridden post into Scotland, if the postmaster may be credited, who told us so much here on Thursday. Also the doctor had a letter from Salisbury, of a villanous murder there committed. A traveller, that had some charge about him, lay at an inn, meaning to be gone early in the morning. The host, understanding it, with three comrades, lay in wait for him, with whom he acquitted himself so well, as that he slew three of them, the host himself being one, and wounded the fourth. But being himself sorely hurt, and not able to go on his journey, returned back into the inn, little suspecting his evil came from thence; and there, after his wounds were dressed, was murdered in his bed by the hostess and her servants, who told the chirurgeon, coming again to dress his wounds, as he had appointed, that his patient felt him-

¹ Meddus.

self so well that he would needs go his journey the next morning, which the chirurgeon knowing to be impossible, causes search to be made, and so discovered the villany. They say also that, at the last delivery at Newgate, were no fewer than eighteen condemned for murder.

Don Carlos's last reason given why he could not come when the king's ship was offered him, was because his majesty and his council were jealous of the French king's preparations in Picardy and Champagne, himself being governor of Cambray, &c., and so to look to those frontiers.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 30, 1629.

There is nothing happened here in the court since my last that I may add to my former advertisements, saving that there have wanted no plays for the solemnizing of the Christmas holidays. The admiral's place is not yet disposed of, but likeliest by the common rumour and appearance to fall upon my Lord of Holland than upon any other. The Countess of Carlisle keepeth yet at Essex House; but it will not be long, it is thought, before she come back to court.

The Marquis Hamilton promised the king, afore his departure, that he would be here back again by Candlemas; the cause of his sudden departure being, as I hear, to be there present at the marriage of one or two of his sisters. I understand that in that country there was lately an exact search made and account taken of all the recusants there; and that the whole number of them did scarce come to five hundred, and that the council and justices there do hold such a strict hand over them, as that the Marquis of Huntley, being gone back thither with the king's letters, was by them confined in a place far from his own country, and all his popish servants taken from about him, and others put in their places.

Don Carlos Colonna is now at length landed, and expected to be here to-morrow; my Lord of Newport being appointed to meet him at Gravesend, and to bring him in

the king's barges. From Sir Francis Cottington there are no letters come yet since his arrival at the court of Spain, he being yet two days' journey from it at the writing of his last. Concerning the English businesses solicited by Sir Thomas Edmondes, the king's ambassador in France, I hear they rather go backward than forward, they having lately given there a sentence, without the privity, and rather against the will, of the English merchants, whose ships have been taken since the peace, for the selling of the goods out of them, having a purpose, as it is thought, afterwards to make use of the ships. I hear, moreover, that they are resolved there not to yield henceforth any more respect or obedience at sea to the King of England's banner, and that a matter of a higher nature hath been agitated in the council there, namely, to make him leave the title of King of France: whereby it may be conjectured what their good will and designs are against this State. Here are three East India ships, lately arrived with good lading, at Plymouth.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 13, 1629-30.

For news, Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, hath been poisoned by the practice of the Palatine of Hungary and an Hungarian Jesuit that came to the prince counterfeiting himself a poor exiled German Protestant minister; who was since taken at Casshaw, and there exquisitely tortured, and quartered, or rather torn in pieces with four horses. Besides, the Palatine himself, for seeking to bring in popery at Ottenburg, was thrown out at a window, but not much hurt. I saw a letter of December 19, from Sir Isaac Wake's secretary at Turin in Savoy, wherein is this passage: "The Imperialists under the command of Colalto, and Spaniards under Marquis Spinola, have been busy and bold with the Duke of Mantua since the French king retired from hence. The Spaniards have re-entered upon all in Montferrat which Gonzales de Cordova had quitted; and Colalto hath taken all the Mantuan territory unto the walls of Mantua, which he besiegeth straitly, and hath

shut up in it the duke and all his family. The French, we hear, are coming with a powerful army to relieve him. The Pope's ministers labour hard for a peaceable accommodation; and Paneirella, a great man in the court of Rome, hath for the present procured a suspension of arms for a month. What the issue will be will shortly appear. The Venetians assist Mantua. The Duke of Savoy yet keeps himself neutral." Thus much out of the letter.

On Saturday, January 2, the Earl of Newport¹ fetched Don Carlos de Colonna, the Spanish ambassador, from Gravesend to London; and on Wednesday, my Lord of Salisbury conducted him from his house in Aldersgate Street to Whitehall, where he had his first reception and audience in the banqueting house, both their majesties being present, all the ladies (whereof the three duchesses were part) standing on the queen's side, and all the lords on the king's. He carried himself more humbly and respectfully to his majesty than Spanish ambassadors used to do. He there delivered his letters of credence, and had some quarter of an hour's discourse with the king; but afterwards was with him half an hour in the privy galleries, and, passing over the terrace towards the presence, his majesty opened a window, and saluted him once more. Then went he on the queen's side, where he ascended towards her majesty through a beautiful line of ladies. He hath presented twenty Spanish jennets to his majesty. The French and Dutch are said to do, and will oppose the design of the Spanish ambassador all they can.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 20, [1629-30.]

Notwithstanding those great preparations made in France for the land, they are still going powerfully forward there with their sea preparations, which the common rumour and apprehension voiceth to be chiefly intended against this country, and within these seven days there is an advertisement sent hither, that there is some enterprise projected upon the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. True it is, that

¹ Mountjoy Blount, natural son of Charles Blount Earl of Devonshire.

hitherto there hath been little or nothing done on neither side for the establishing of the peace; for hitherto his majesty's ambassador in France could not get any restitution made there of any English ship or goods that have been taken since the publishing of the peace, nor any order taken for the settling of trade and commerce for the time to come; nor any satisfaction for that part which remaineth to be paid of the queen's dowry. And the French ambassador doth complain that there is little satisfaction given him here in any thing that he sueth for.

The Spanish ambassador, Don Carlos Colonna, hath not appeared, nor done any thing since his first audience, pretending, as it is said, that he hath not yet received his commission; expecting perhaps till he hear of Sir Francis Cottington's negociation in Spain; from whom there is no news come as yet since his landing at Lisbon, where he was kindly and honourably entertained, and feasted at the charges of the city.

Here the jars seem to continue still, at court, between the Earls of Carlisle and Holland; and one of the queen's women, one Smith, hath been banished out of the court for having falsely reported that there was a new-year's gift sent by the Countess of Carlisle to her majesty, which, if any had been brought, there was order given aforehand that it should not be received.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 23, 1629-30.

Before I mention any impertinences, I will make relation of such news as I have. Of those eight defendants prosecuted in the Star Chamber for handling the project, seven had been examined upon interrogatories, viz., the three earls, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. James, Mr. St. John, Mr. Barrell; and only Mr. Selden remaineth unexamined. And some say Mr. Attorney hath drawn a replication to their answers on the behalf of his majesty, and that he will forthwith proceed to examination of witnesses; and, if it be possible, will bring the cause to a hearing this next term. Others report that David Foulis having presented the ori-

ginal of that project to his majesty, and Sir Robert Dudley's letter from Florence, wherein it was enclosed, hath therewith so satisfied his majesty as he will no farther prosecute the business, save only against my Lord of Somerset. Mr. Chambers the merchant is offered, in case he will acknowledge the Star Chamber and the Exchequer have done him justice, that he shall be released out of the Fleet. But he saith, before he will do that, he will first die in prison; for in acknowledging so much, he should by consequence acknowledge himself perjured.

My Lord Baltimore, *alias* Sir George Calvert, being weary of his intolerable plantation at Newfoundland, where he hath found between eight and nine months' winter, and upon the land nothing but rocks, lakes, or mosses, like bogs, which a man might thrust a spike down to the but-head in, (for so Mr. James, Sir Robert Cotton's library-keeper, who was sent minister thither some nine years ago, describes the place) his lordship this last summer sent home all his children into England, and went with his lady into Virginia. Being come thither, the governor and council presently sent for him, and interrogated him what his purpose or intention was, being governor of another plantation, to abandon that and to come thus into Virginia? His answer was, he came to plant and inhabit amongst them. "Very willingly, my lord," said they, "if your lordship will do what we have done, and what your duty is to do." Then they propounded the oath of allegiance to him, which he presently took, but refused to swear that of supremacy. Whereupon they told him, they durst not admit any man into their society which would not acknowledge all pre-eminences belonging to his majesty; and so prayed him to provide himself for the next ship, wherein they have shipped him home.

About the time of his being there, a certain Indian, dwelling some five days' journey off, came there, and offered himself, his wife, and four children, wholly to become English both in affection and religion; and to assure them of his fidelity, he conducted their little army this harvest to the secret habitations of the Indians their enemies; upon whose corn and persons, by his guidance, they wrought

more spoil and revenge than they had done since the great massacre there. And this action had so much the more justice in it, by reason that of late those treacherous savages assailed the house of one Mr. Poole, a minister, and slew him, his wife, and all his family. This Indian also, who hath been so fortunate a guide to the English, hath proffered to bring them to a rich silver mine, and that upon pain of his life, if it prove not true: and so the most active men in the country have undertaken the voyage. The country aboundeth now with provisions of victuals, as kine, hogs, poultry, corn, &c., more than ever, and in time, saith my author, will attract all other English plantations to incorporate with them.¹

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 12, 1629-30.

Now, for the king, queen, and prince of Newfoundland, they have no relation at all to Virginia or to my Lord Baltimore's being there; who, though his lordship do extol that country² to the skies, yet he is preparing a barque to send to fetch his lady and servants from thence, because the king will not permit him to go back again. And for that king and prince so much talked on, I hold them of no great importance against the French, by reason of the paucity of their subjects, who, if they be one hundred men, women, and children, it is a great matter in that most horrid region.³ But if the prime patentee of that flourishing new kingdom⁴ can, by making show and ostentation of those savages, effect his project of creating an order of baronets of Nova Scotia (as, I hear, is intended), who, for £500, shall have precedence of all Scottish and Irish baronets, and of all English also, of a future creation, shall have the privilege

¹ That "plantation" is now one of the most wealthy and important of the United States of North America.

² "Virginia, I suppose: or new Scotland, if he went thither from Virginia."—*Note by Dr. Birch.*

³ "By reason it is so overgrown with woods as he supposeth."—*Note by Dr. Birch.*

⁴ "The Scottishmen say their colony is already five thousand men, women, and children, and increaseth daily from all parts of Scotland; that there is I know not how many hundreds of the name of Gordon, the chief of which name is a great papist," &c.—*Note by Dr. Birch.*

of barons, in being free from arrests, shall have one thousand acres of ground in that tract, and a riband, with an order hanging to thereat for distinction's sake; then I will extol him for his wit and industry.

But, to draw nigher home: on this day sennight, Mr. Walter Long, one of those persecuted parliament men, was censured in the Star Chamber at two thousand marks, imprisonment in the Tower during his majesty's pleasure, and his humble submission to his majesty and to that court. The crimes laid to his charge were, first perjury, for that, contrary to his oath of his shrievalty, he was above a month absent out of his county, while he was high sheriff of Wiltshire, without his majesty's special license, although his counsel alleged two licenses, one his majesty's writ, by virtue whereof he was chosen to serve for a burgess of Bath in the House of Commons, and the other his majesty's proclamation, commanding all knights, citizens, burgesses, &c., that were chosen, to make both their personal appearance and abode in parliament. And this perjury of his was aggravated, in that he used industry and practice, both by letters, conference, or his presence, upon the election-day at Bath, to get himself chosen. His second crime was, disobedience to his majesty's writ, directed to him for choosing knights of the shire against these words, "*Nolumus te vel temetipsum vel quemvis alium Vice-comitem aliquo modo eligere,*" &c. Whereto his counsel made answer, that by those words was intended he should not choose himself knight of the shire, but not meant that he might not be chosen burgess, as many high sheriffs have been, and also have served in parliament without blame, as I think verily he might have done, if he had not been so active in the House of Commons. His third fault was, neglect of his office, and consequently of the commonwealth. My Lord of Winchester¹ was the first man that fined him at £2000: [and my Lord Archbishop of York² made a bitter invective against him, taking Mr. Attorney's place upon himself. Whereupon some reminded him, that these speeches ill became

¹ Dr. Neville.

² Dr. Harsnet.

.....¹] My Lord Conway said that, although he was not at the hearing of the cause on the Wednesday immediately going before, yet was he so thoroughly satisfied by the preceding speeches, as he thought fit to fine the defendant at £2000, &c. Whereupon, my lord keeper bade the registrar strike his vote out of the book, because he took upon him to judge that cause which he had not heard pleaded at all. And if his vote had been allowed, then Mr. Long's had not been two thousand marks, but £2000, because the votes for either had been equal, and, according to the custom, the greater sum had prevailed for the king. My Lords of Carlisle and Holland were of a quite other humour; for, because they were absent on Wednesday from hearing of the cause, when it came to their turn to speak, they veiled their bonnets and kept silence. [One lord among them, as I was assured by an officer of the court, prayed that his majesty might.....the kingdom²]; but divers of their lordships condemned the new doctrine, viz., that nothing said or done in parliament was punishable in any other court.

The first Monday and Tuesday of this term, Sir John Eliot, Mr. Holles, and Mr. Valentine, did, by their learned counsel, argue for their plea formerly put into that court, which was, that the Court of the King's Bench had no jurisdiction to call any thing in question said or done in parliament. They should have had a third day for arguing, but the judges cut them off on the second day, and declared their own opinions to the contrary, viz., that the very same things said and done by them in parliament were censurable in that court. So a rule of court was entered, that those three defendants should be allowed to plead to Mr. Attorney's information, if they would, as upon Monday was sennight. But then they would not. And yesterday was sennight, not only two of them three, but the residue of those prisoners in the King's Bench, moved at the bar for their Habeas Corpus. Whereat one of the judges said, "he wondered much that they would demand that which

¹ The sentence within brackets is in parts illegible.

² This sentence was also blotted out.

had so often been denied them. What, come they to out-face the court?" Hereupon, a rule was immediately entered, that they should be deprived of their accustomed liberty of walking abroad all day, and should altogether be confined to the prison of the King's Bench. But on Sunday morning, another rule was sent to Gilbert Barrell, their attorney, whereby he might give notice to Sir John Eliot and Mr. Valentine (Mr. Holles being already out upon bail) that they had liberty given them against Tuesday next following to confer with their learned counsel about framing an answer, if they would, to Mr. Attorney's information. But that day they did nothing but only move by their counsel for longer time. So yesterday was granted them to bring in their answer, wherein they also failed. Then the Lord Chief Justice Hyde gave them some austere language, yet was persuaded by Judge Croke to grant them yet this morning, being the last day of term; and yesternight their attorney and counsel, upon my knowledge, were appointed to draw their plea in answer to Mr. Attorney's information. Yet this morning it was not presented in court; and, therefore, upon a *nihil dicit* (which is held equivalent to a confession or pleading guilty), sentence was pronounced out of Judge Jones's mouth of a fine of £2000 upon Sir John Eliot, imprisonment in the Tower during his majesty's pleasure, and to be bound to his good behaviour during life. Upon Mr. Holles, of one thousand marks, and upon Mr. Valentine, of £500. Thus silent they were out of a generous resolution rather to run the hazard of a *nihil dicit*, and of the judge's censure thereupon, than to have subjected the House of Commons, by any pusillanimity of theirs, to the jurisdiction of any inferior court.¹

As touching the great cause depending in the Star Chamber against the three earls, some say my Lord of Bedford hath wound himself out; and so it is hoped the higher powers will satisfy themselves with having thus punished four of the parliament men. And, besides, the lawyers are of opinion that, whereas Sir David Foulis's deposition hath discovered the ground of Mr. Attorney's

¹ The three following lines in the original are blotted out.

information, viz., that the "*Discourse*¹ or *project* was framed and contrived within five or six months past here in England," to be a mere falsehood; because he testifieth upon his oath, that it was seventeen years ago contrived out of England, by Sir Robert Dudley, at Florence; therefore, some learned in the law do conclude that, either Mr. Attorney must frame a new bill, and they new answers; or else he must let this bill fall to the ground.

They say, to-day, upon the Exchange, that his majesty is very angry with the Dunkirkers. Whether he be or no, I know not; but he hath now good cause. For, within these few days, they took a ship of eight pieces of ordnance out of the Downs, laden with his majesty's own provisions of cordage, cables, &c., towards the setting forth of some ships to the defence of the Narrow Seas. The Spanish ambassador (whose crest upon the stern of his treble-gilt coach is Noah's dove, with an olive branch in her mouth, and the word *Revertar*, alluding to peace) tells his majesty confidently, that the French preparations at sea will sooner or later light upon England. And now that his majesty is about to set out twelve ships, great and small, to defend the Narrow Seas, we are treating with Spain a cessation of arms, which was offered by Don Carlos before his coming out of Flanders, and refused by the advice of our privy council: since when, these sea-wolves have taken from us to the value at least of £100,000.

Monsieur de Fonteney, designed for leiger ambassador here out of France, is, for the same purpose, come down to Calais with his wife and family, attending there for transportation; which some give for an argument that the French king will not in haste invade us. Another argument may be, because that the great Cardinal Richelieu being descended into Italy with a great and expensive army, and making Cassel the seat of his affairs, hath propounded such haughty and lordly conditions to the poor Spaniards and Imperialists there, as if they would swallow them, they would be accounted base all over; such as these: 1. That the Duke of Nevers shall hold the Duchy of Mantua and Marquisate of Montferrat in fee of him-

¹ The manuscript lent out of Sir Robert Cotton's library.

self, as an independent prince, without any relation to the empire. 2. That the emperor shall quit the Valtoline, by withdrawing all his forces out of it; and shall leave it in the same state he found it. And 3. That the Spaniards and Imperialists shall first lay down their arms.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 12, [1629-30].

All the news I have is, that Mr. Long was on Friday, last week, censured in the Star Chamber, where they laid upon him no less than £2000 fine for his parliament employment during his sheriffalty. There were letters produced which he had written to some friends to procure him to be chosen burgess. The judges would have censured the three parliament gentlemen at their bench ere this, but that they desired respite to advise with their counsel, the matter being great, and much concerning them; which was granted till Thursday this week, being term end: but how they fared then, I yet hear not. It was thought dangerous for them to let the judges proceed against them upon a *nihil dicit*; because he that is silent *in foro*, is supposed to confess all he is accused of, and is to receive judgment accordingly.

Our council of war have resolved the French king cannot yet in a long time be ready with his fleet for any attempt either against us or others; and therefore not to be feared; and suppose that king is ambitious to have the dominion of the sea as well as other princes, and that to be the reason of providing so great a fleet; for it is said, he hath set apart 300,000 crowns a-year to be bestowed that way.

Sir Charles Howard, the Earl of Nottingham's son by the Scottish lady, Sir Francis Stuart's sister, a wild young scholar at Oxford, by some acquaintance there was brought to one Smith's house, a citizen of London, where he fell in love with one of his daughters, a very lovely woman they say, and of a singular carriage for one of her breeding; and married her without the privity of the lady his mother: who upon knowledge thereof threatening to reject him, the fickle young gentleman presently rejects his wife,

would not come at her, uses her most unfittingly, &c. The business hath been before my Lord of Canterbury, who laboured to reconcile them all three, but in vain; and what will be the event, if it be worth listening after, it may. I shall know in time.

I forgot to tell you, that the last week came to London the king, queen, and young prince of New Scotland, which is the west part of that tract which was in the patent which Sir Ferdinando Gorges had for New England; but he consented that Sir William Alexander, a Scot, should have a patent thereof from King James, anno 1621, but to be governed by the laws and depend upon the King of England. It is that which in your Speed hath on the north side of the river, Canada on the east, and south the ocean, on the west, Rio St. Jean or R. Pontager, where it frontiers New England. But if the first relation of the discovery after this Scottish patent be true, (as it is in Purchas) it is a much more fertile and delicate country than what Sir Ferdinando reserved for New England. This king comes to be of our king's religion, and to submit his kingdom to him, and to become his homager for the same, that he may be protected against the French of Canada. Those savages arrived at Plymouth were a while entertained at my Lord Poulet's,¹ in Somersetshire, much made of, especially my lady² of the savage queen: she came with her to the coach, when they were to come to London, put a chain about her neck with a diamond valued by some at near £20. The savages took all in good part, but for thanks or acknowledgment made no sign or expression at all.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 27, 1629-30.

On Saturday last were censured in the Star Chamber fourscore persons, seven at £40 fine, and the residue at £100 or £200 a-piece, for plucking down a pale which Sir James Fullerton and Mr. Kirke of the bedchamber had

¹ John Poulet, created Baron Poulet of Henton St. George, in the county of Somerset, July 23, 1627.

² Christian, daughter and heir of Christopher Ken, of Ken, in Somersetshire.

erected about Gillingham forest in Dorsetshire, after they had felled down all the woods; the inhabitants thereabouts pretending a commonage upon it, notwithstanding it was given by his majesty under his broad seal to those two Scottishmen. The two ringleaders of the rout were censured also to stand upon the pillory at the next market town.

On Wednesday the same week, as they came from the Blackfriars' sermons, two pursuivants laid hold on one Dr. Leighton, now a physician, once a minister, but suspended therefrom for inconformity, a fiery Scotsman, who told them he would not obey any such anti-Christian authority; and so would not stir. Nay, being then commanded in the king's name to obey the constable assisted with six men, he also refused, so that at length they were forced to carry him upon their shoulders, and was presently, without examination, committed close prisoner to Newgate. This is he that some years since published a book called "Sion's Plea," and said to be sold in secret for twenty shillings a-piece, and to contain such vile matter, as some think may go near, if not altogether, to cost him his life, if he be proved to be the author. Besides, I am certainly informed this week, that since his imprisonment there was a letter cast into the Bishop of London's house, which bade him look to it that this man came well off, or he should ere long have a pistol or something else in his belly.

Mr. Long, newly censured, presented on Monday was sennight a petition to their Lordships in this form:— "Right Honourables, your petitioner having been lately censured by your Lordships in his majesty's court of Star Chamber, doth, in obedience to his majesty's laws, in all humbleness submit himself thereunto, and doth acknowledge your justice therein. And yet for that his case is rare and of such nature that your petitioner doth and ever must protest that, until your Lordships' censure was pronounced, he did not know nor could believe that he had offended therein, he doth now humbly pray your Lordships, that as he hath submitted to your judicial, so he may make his humble resort to your favourable consideration; and that the same and your petitioner's long and strait impri-

sonment past may move you to mitigate the greatness of his fine, and to suspend the execution of his censure. And, because he is most sensible of and most sorrowful for his sovereign's high displeasure, (which of all the calamities of this life he accounteth the greatest) he humbly prayeth your Lordships to be pleased to be his favourable intercessors to his most excellent majesty, that he will graciously vouchsafe out of his abundant goodness to pass by your petitioner's offence, and to restore him to his princely favour. And your petitioner shall, during his life, serve his majesty (as his duty requireth) in all faithful and loyal obedience, and your honours in true thankfulness." But his petition was rejected, and himself on Tuesday morning, as my author heard, committed from the Fleet to the Tower.

Sir John Eliot was not yet sent prisoner to the Tower, though he had sent to Mr. Lieutenant to provide him a convenient lodging, that he might send his upholsterer to trim it up. Concerning his fine, my author heard him say, that he had two cloaks, two suits, two pair of boots, and gullasheer,¹ and a few books; and that was all his present substance; and if they could pick £2000 out of that, much good might it do them. Besides, he said, when he was first close prisoner in the Tower, a commission was directed to the high sheriff of Cornwall and five other commissions, his capital enemies, to inquire into his lands and goods, and to seize upon them for the king; but they returned a *nihil*.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 6, 1629-30.

The title of Dr. Leighton's book is "Sion's Plea against the Prelacy." He refuseth to answer the high-commissioners as being parties, and so incompetent judges, but appealeth to the lords of the council. His famed passage about his majesty's marriage (as I hear by those who have read the book) is, that "missing an Egyptian," meaning the Infanta, "he had light upon a daughter of Heth," meaning her majesty: not, as some relate, missing a Jew,

¹ Galoches.

had married a Turk; though it be little better, for he implies a Canaanite. Since his committing, his wife hath also been committed to the same prison for her disordered tongue; and a buttonmaker for putting his mouth to the keyhole of the prison door where he lay, and crying aloud, "Stand to it, doctor, and shrink not," and such like words.

But the best news written last week was, that his majesty was graciously pleased that there should neither be nurse, rocker, nor any other officer belong to the queen's nursery (after she was brought to bed) save only Protestants. Howsoever, on Tuesday that week at night, the queen's Capuchins arrived by water at Denmark House, being eight in number, besides four lay brethren. They were the harbingers of the French leiger ambassador, Monsieur de Fonteney, who followed the day after, and in a great storm of rain was brought to his lodging in my Lord of Dorset's house in Salisbury Court; for which he hath already, at £300 a-year, paid five years next beforehand, viz., £1500. Philippo Burlamachi, the famous merchant, is now to be employed over into France to fetch home the other moiety of the queen's portion, which will amount to £120,000, namely, upon this ground and consideration, that whereas Monsieur de Châteauneuf, the French ambassador extraordinary, hath been very importunate with the king to call a parliament for confirmation of her majesty's jointure; his majesty being loth to run the hazard of a parliament, hath gotten the best landed of the lords of the council to become bond for the assurance of the same jointure: which way, they say, hath satisfied the ambassador, and so like to satisfy also the king his master. Another way for his majesty to get money for the present is the fines of the coronation knights, which it is hoped will equal a subsidy.

The Isle of Wight men are promised by his majesty and the lords £3000 towards the reparation of their nine forts; which sum will furnish the materials, but the islanders must be at the cost of the workmanship.

Mr. Coxe, that Hertfordshire gentleman who, in Michaelmas term, procured his elder brother to be hanged for

a felony done long ago, and to prevent his pardon, caused him, by subornation, to be executed an hour before day, and all to get an inheritance, hath lately hanged himself, and so provided the same snare for himself which he had procured for his elder brother. And, they say, my Lord of Salisbury¹ will prosecute a great judge of the land about it, in the Star Chamber.

The judges of the King's Bench, before their departure on their circuit, entered not Sir John Eliot's censure imposed by them in that court upon record; for which cause he is not yet gone to the Tower. But Mr. Long's fine of two thousand marks is returned into the exchequer; and so it seems to be meant he shall assuredly pay it, if his lands and goods be not surely conveyed away. Mr. Valentine hath leave to go down into the country by the authority and virtue of an Habeas Corpus.

My Lord of Carlisle hath twice in one week most magnificently feasted the Spanish ambassador and Mons. Reubens,² also the agent, who prepared the way for his coming; who, in honour of England and of our nation, from whom he hath received so many courtesies, hath drawn with his pencil the history of St. George, wherein, if it be possible, he hath exceeded himself; but the picture he hath sent home into Flanders, to remain there as a monument of his abode and employment here. And now there is a commission under the great seal, directed to certain of our lords to treat with the Spanish court.

You have done me an exceeding great favour in sending me the whole proceedings and event of your demoniacal imposture; for when I received your last letter by Mr. Honeywood on Tuesday or Wednesday, I thought it was but an English devil, when he understood not Greek from

¹ Sir Symonds D'Ewes, in his History of his own Life, giving an account of the death of Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, on the 13th of June, 1631, has the following passage:—"He had also at the Guildhall or Newgate session before this circuit [the summer one of 1631] condemned a man to die unjustly, and precipitated his execution; for which William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, had complained to the king, and the said Hyde was not only like to have lost his place, but to have come into greater trouble for it, had he survived. And some therefore thought the fear of this had hastened his end." This appears to be the same story with that mentioned by Mr. Mead in his letter of March 6, 1629-30; though Sir Symonds D'Ewes was mistaken in the date.

² The great painter, who was liberally patronized whilst in this country.

Latin. The discovery was opportune for the woman accused: they might also have fared amiss these assizes; but what shall be done with the confederates?¹ We have some news at Cambridge, but it is too long to relate; besides, I must not tell tales forth of school.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 10, 1629.

At present I have little matter to write of; for concerning the Spanish businesses, and what passeth in that treaty, they are *arcana imperii*, which must not come out of the sanctuary till the time bring them forth. Nevertheless, if that which, by circumstances and conjectures, is gathered thereof, may be allowed to pass, thus much I may tell you, that the same rumour which you have in the country of Sir Francis Cottington's coming back, is very rife here amongst us at court: and that he himself hath desired to be called home, for the little hope he found there of doing any good in that negociation. Whereof the chief rub will be about the restitution of the Palatinate, at least of so much thereof as the Spaniards do hold; who to elude us, and disable themselves therein, are reported to be in hand with the emperor and Duke of Bavaria, to surrender unto them the towns that they hold therein. Howsoever, Sir Francis Cottington shall speed for the public in that employment, I am sure he shall find but a cold comfort at his own house at his return, his lady having since his departure buried two of their children, a son and a daughter, which were very dear unto him; and the third, which is the last, being also, as is reported, dangerously sick.

Out of France we have had no news this fortnight, Sir Thomas Edmondes being now daily expected here, who, at his coming away from that court, had a present of £1800 in plate bestowed upon him, and a coach worth £300. This day, Mons. de Fontenay Mareuil, who is newly come to be leiger ambassador here, hath had his

¹ This passage appears to refer to some of those lamentable delusions so common in the seventeenth century, which went under the name of witchcraft.

first audience of the king and queen, in a very solemn manner, in the Banqueting House, being accompanied thereto by Mons. de Châteauneuf, the extraordinary ambassador, who will very shortly prepare for his departure. To-morrow the Spanish ambassador is to have a private audience.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 13, 1629-30.

For our news we received on Saturday, as followeth:— That on Saturday before (this day fortnight) Sir John Eliot was committed to the Tower, upon a rule of the King's Bench, grounded upon his sentence there. Mr. Long and he are fellow-commoners, and have the liberty of the house. That one Dudson, under-marshal of the King's Bench, and one of my lord chief justice's tipstaves, when he delivered him at the Tower, made this formal speech:—"Mr. Lieutenant, I have brought you this worthy knight, whom I borrowed of you some few months ago, and now do repay him again." Before his departure out of the King's Bench, the judges, before they went their circuit, sent him and those other gentlemen, his fellow-prisoners, this message—that they were much grieved at the misbehaviour of their pages and servants, for tossing dogs and cats in a blanket, in the open street of Southwark, near the King's Bench prison; and saying, "We are judges of these creatures, and why should not we take our pleasure upon them, as well as those other judges have done upon our masters?" Mr. Long's fine of 2000 marks is returned into the Exchequer, but will hardly, as is thought, be levied, because he hath made over all his estate long since.

On Sunday was sennight, one of the queen's capuchins preached before her majesty at Somerset House, concerning vows and the observations of Lent; and that whosoever did eat flesh in that holy time, without license or dispensation, was *ipso facto* damned.

Sir Francis Cottington, they say, hath written to his majesty out of Spain, that he hath had noble reception

and fair answers to all his propositions. The commissioners appointed here to treat with the Spanish ambassador, are my lord keeper, lord treasurer, Earl of Arundel, Archbishop of York, lord president of the north, and the Lord Viscount Dorchester.

Sir Thomas Edmondes parted from Paris onward of his journey for England, above fourteen days ago, on Friday last, yet was neither come home nor heard of. But Sir Isaac Wake desires not to pass from Turin thither (to Paris) till his arrearages be paid.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 18, 1629.

As the coming of the capuchins hither with the new ambassador had raised the hopes and hearts of the Papists here, and made them dream of a new liberty, so as they flocked openly in hundreds and thousands both to the queen's and the foreign ambassador's chapels; so are they now as much dashed and troubled with an order lately made by the king, that none that is his subject born shall be suffered to come into the queen's nor the said ambassador's chapels; but as many as shall be found coming out from thence shall be apprehended, and brought before the lords of the council. Whereat both the queen herself and the ambassadors also seemed to be much discontented, her majesty thinking herself wronged in the abridgment of that liberty which hitherto she hath been let to enjoy, and the ambassadors likewise thinking it to be a derogation to their privileges. But to these it was showed, that by the course taken for the execution of this order, their rights and privileges were no ways touched; for that the pursuivants, and such as had orders to apprehend the delinquents, were not to enter nor set foot within the precinct of their houses, but stand out in the streets. And for the queen, besides that she was made to understand that it was against the covenants of her contract of marriage that her chaplains should be used by any but by herself and her own servants, there was a particular order made, for her greater satisfaction, that none of her

said servants should be hindered or troubled in the free exercise of their religion.¹

Here are daily complaints made of the continual prizes and wrongs done by the Dunkirkers, not only along the coasts, but also within the very rivers of this kingdom, where they have taken divers ships of late. The Duke of Saxony, that went lately from hence into France in a man-of-war, was set upon by them between Dover and Calais, and like to have been taken, after he had been four or five hours in fight with them, if he had not been rescued by some Hollanders that came to his succour. We hear, that in Spain all the English ships that are there have been arrested, to be used, as it seemeth, for some service of that king. Sir Thomas Edmondess is now landed at Dover.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 20, 1629-30.

Our last Saturday's letters relate this : that on Wednesday, that week, towards evening, my Lord of Dorchester delivered to the Lords sitting at the council-board, that it was his majesty's pleasure, none of his subjects shall go any more to mass in the queen's chapel; which, that it may effectually be performed, his majesty hath appointed two of the queen's gentlemen-ushers, Sir John Tonstall to stand at the gate, and Mr. Steward at the chapel-door, to divert all, saving Frenchmen. My Lord of Dorset, her majesty's lord chamberlain, highly approving this gracious message from his majesty, said he would act his part therein to the full; and if any should grow stubborn, would have them turned out per force, and exposed to the law; for which forwardness of his, the residue of the Lords applauded him. My Lord of Dorchester delivered besides, that himself and his fellow secretary Coke had order from his majesty to visit all the ambassadors, and to let them know how his majesty takes

² The zeal of the queen's priests to make converts, and her own imprudence in sanctioning their proceedings, created a good deal of ill feeling amongst the Protestant population. In the following letter the reader will find the measures detailed, to which the government had recourse to check the evil.

notice, that many of his subjects do resort unto their houses to hear mass; that his majesty will not violate their privileges as ambassadors; but this he will do—when his subjects come forth of their houses, he will cause them to be apprehended, imprisoned, and prosecuted by law.

What our council here wrote by his majesty's command to the lords justices and council of Ireland, the last of January, upon occasion of that uproar at Dublin by the friars and their adherents in Christmas time, you shall find in the enclosed. And for the event, Sir Henry Bouchier was told on Thursday, last week, by his servant, newly come out of Ireland, that the priests, jesuits, friars, and nuns, are so hunted and imprisoned there, as they are rare to be found; and that the two lords justices have set in work the choicest instruments for that purpose that could be found in all that kingdom, who will act that business both zealously and faithfully.

On Friday, at night, yesternight was fortnight, a letter to my lord mayor was thrust under his gate, and he charged therein, upon his allegiance, to deliver another, enclosed to his majesty, which the next morning he accordingly sent to the king.

The last week died two of the plague in London, one in Shoreditch, another in Whitechapel; and I saw by a letter yesterday, that there were four dead this week, and all in St. Giles's parish. God grant it prove not an ill sign of some greater infection to follow.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 27, Easter-even, [1630].

I shall not hold you long to-day, having not many things to write; yet that little I have is a great deal, if it be all true, for thus saith mine author, March 19:—The most I can present you at this present, saith he, are the several reports of the overthrow of the Spanish fleet.¹ Five hundred priests and friars were said to be fled out of Ireland for Spain, and more following them. And the Sunday before, my author wrote, in conformity to the

¹ The Dutch West India fleet.

order made by the council board, according to his majesty's message the week preceding, some thirty papists were apprehended at ambassadors' doors, and imprisoned or disposed of to answer it.

The queen's majesty, having no fancy, it seems, to our English midwives and nurses, had sent into France for both: who, as they were coming, together with a dwarf, and, as some say, twelve nuns, were all intercepted and carried away by the Dunkirkers. But I hear, by letters from London yesterday, that being not found good prize at Dunkirk, they were released, and are now safely arrived in England. The queen looks her time about the end of May; and when she is once safely delivered, his majesty means to be for Scotland.

A gentleman that was at Winchester assizes and the execution there, says, that the second son of Sir William Dorington, or Dodington, was there and then condemned for the foul murder of his mother, and after executed, but either senseless of the fact, or distracted. And that, at the Berkshire assizes, was a boy of nine years old condemned and executed for example, for burning a house or two, who only said upon the ladder, "Forgive me this fault, and I'll do so no more."

The dwarf taken by the Dunkirkers was Sesquipedal Geoffrey,¹ coming from the queen mother out of France, with jewels given him by her and the ladies of that court to the value of £2,500, and presents for her majesty worth £5000 more; and, in his company and the same bark, the queen's midwife, her nurse's husband, Rocan, her dancing master, &c. They escaped by means of the governor of Calais, who, hearing they were taken, attached all the persons, and seized upon all the goods of the archduchess's subjects there.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 16, 1630.

At London, this week, died of the plague but eight, whereof one within the walls. Of the Duke of Bavaria's

¹ Sir Geoffrey Hudson—the Tom Thumb of his day.

death I never heard till yours, though I saw a letter from the doctor yesterday, wherein, if he had had that to write, he would not have complained for want of news. I suppose it is as true, as that the infection is again broken out at Cambridge, which though we know nothing of here, yet the Northamptonshire carrier this week desired a certificate from our magistracy that we were clear; otherwise, forsooth, the burgomasters of Northampton would not suffer him to come any more. I know not what they ail, unless somebody had a fancy that it should begin again that time twelvemonth, and now will needs believe it is so. This is the day twelvemonth when I sent you word of it last year,¹ and now I inform you that we neither yet know nor fear any such matter, and we pray and hope we shall so continue.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 17, 1630.

Not many days ago, a certain oatmeal maker, taking upon him to be a preacher, and therefore imprisoned, was called before the high commission, where, keeping on his hat, and being asked why he did not put it off, he answered he would never put off his hat to bishops. "But you will to privy counsellors?" said one of them. "Then as you are privy counsellors," quoth he, "I put off my hat, but as ye are rags of the beast, lo! I put it on again!" Towards the conclusion came in the Bishop of Winchester,² saying, "Let us dismiss this frantic, foolish fellow; we do but lose our time, and cast it away upon him. Let us assume some other business." "Hold thy peace," said the oatmeal maker, "thou tail of the beast that sittest at the lower end of the table."³

There is a bill put into the Star Chamber against Bonham Norton, late the king's printer, and fourteen others, for accusing my lord treasurer⁴ of bribery. My

¹ "According to the days of the week; otherwise to-morrow."—*Note by Mr. Mead.*

² Dr. Neile.

³ No doubt the reader will regret to learn that the name of this worthy has not been preserved.

⁴ Weston.

author heard also there was a new bill put in against the three earls, Sir Robert Cotton, and the rest, about the business of "the Project."

There died this week of the plague at London, eleven; viz., Botolph, Aldgate, one; Clement Danes, three; Giles-in-the-Fields, two; Leonard, Shoreditch, one; Martin-in-the-Fields, one; Mary, Whitechapel, three. Six parishes infected. I suppose you have heard of the like calamity begun and threatened us here in Cambridge. We have had some seven died; the first, the last week (suspected, but not searched), a boy. On Monday and Tuesday, two, a boy and a woman in the same house. On Wednesday, two women, one exceeding foul, in two houses, viz., the two former. On Tuesday, a man, one Homes, dwelling in the midst between the two former houses; for all three stand together at Magdalen College End. It began at the farther house, Forster's, a shoemaker, supposed by lodging a soldier, who had a sore upon him, in whose bed and sheets the nasty woman laid two of her sons, who are both dead, and a kinswoman. Some add, for a cause, a dung-hill at the back of his house, in a little yard, in which the fool this Lent time suffered some butchers, who had killed meat by stealth, to kill it there, and to bury the garbage in his dunghill, so to avoid discovery, by which it became very noisome even to Magdalen College. The other two houses, the one is a smith, the hithermost, and the middlemost Homes', a tap-house, all beyond the bridge.

But the worst news of all told me this morning by one of the searchers is, that this last night died a child of Pembroke Hall baker's, next the Cardinal's Cap, with all the signs of the plague, both spots and swelling, which discovers the town to be in very great danger. For there died some fortnight since one Disher, a bookbinder, suddenly, and another or two before either his or his neighbours, one being a soldier, whom this Disher, keeping an alehouse, lodged, and was comrade to the soldier that was supposed to have infected the shoemaker's house, at St. Giles's. There was a very great number at Disher's funeral; but presently thereupon, by the death of some other, grew a suspicion, which, since the plague broke out

at St. Giles's, was examined, but nothing would be confessed till now this happened upon this child, whose mother is that Disher's wife's sister, and was with her both at and since the death of her husband. We hear, the plague, by some relation to these houses, is broken out at Histon and Gurton. Besides, that it is begun in Northampton and other places. God have mercy upon us, and deliver us.

For the Earl of Pembroke,¹ we heard of it on Sunday last, in the forenoon. But this day's letters relate it more perfectly, namely, thus: on Friday,² he supped with my Lady of Devonshire, without Bishopsgate, was very jocund at supper, rejoicing much that the day before, being his birthday, his lordship had arrived to the age of fifty, hoping now, he said, to attain to his father's years, that lived till sixty-four, and so see many happy days. After supper, he retired to his house at Baynard's Castle, where, staying up till midnight, he found himself very well; but after he had been awhile in bed, his lady³ lying by him, he fetched a profound groan, whereat she, being not able to wake him, shrieked out for company, who, coming in, found him speechless, in which condition he lay till eight in the morning, what time he died. They say, that many years ago, Mr. Allen,⁴ of Oxford, had cast his nativity, and had brought him to his fiftieth year, but could promise no farther. The corpse being dissected, they found his cephalic veins burst, and his brain all mingled with blood, which did suffocate his animal spirits. The rest of his nobler parts, as his heart, liver, and lungs, were all decayed, and one of his kidneys rotten. He died intestate, and left debts behind him of above four score thousand pounds; for a great part whereof, divers of his servants were engaged, who had raised themselves to fair estates under him; his whole revenues, while he lived, amounting to £22,000 a-year, and his lady now having £12,000 revenue, whereof £9,000 of her own inheritance, the rest, jointure. Before my lord steward was thoroughly cold,

¹ William, 3rd Earl.

² April 9.

³ Mary, eldest of the three daughters and co-heirs to Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury.

⁴ Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall.

it is said my Lord of Arundel, pretending her not to be *mentis compotem*, begged the custody of her from his majesty, especially because my Lord Maltravers, his son, is her heir-apparent in case she have no child. But her affection stood a great deal more to my lord chamberlain,¹ who hath so much prevailed with his majesty as to obtain the keeping of her and her lands. But the Bishop of London² was chosen chancellor of Oxford on Monday last,³ and in that, too hard for my lord chamberlain, from whom he won it by nine voices. My lord treasurer had gotten a letter of recommendation from his majesty, which came two hours after the election.

The old Countess of Arundel⁴ is dead, by whose death the earl hath £6000 a-year.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 24, 1630.

As for the present, the infection is not yet come near our end of the town, but remains still beyond the bridge and in Trumpington Street, of which, since my last, have died five, viz., on Sunday, Forster himself, the good man of the house where it first began, beyond the bridge, out of whose house had died three or four before. On Tuesday morning, died a child, by the Mitre, of which more afterwards. On Wednesday morning, or in the night preceding, died one in a house called the Holt, behind Peter House, who dwelt till a week before at the Castle End; and, as it seems, fearing himself, removed thither without either consent or knowledge of the parish. On Thursday morning, at four o'clock, died a boy of one Myton's, dwelling behind the Castle Hill. He is a tiler, and belonged to St. John's College. He knew not how the infection should come at him, unless, as he said, by a dog his son played with, which came from one of the infected houses. The last night save this, died a maid in Disher's house, out of which house proceeded all this calamity, and whence those two children, which have died in that street, viz., last week,

¹ Philip Earl of Montgomery.

² Laud.

³ April 12.

⁴ Anne, daughter of Thomas, and sister and co-heir of George Lord Daeres, of Gillesland, and widow of Philip Earl of Arundel, who died in the Tower, in 1595.

by the Cardinal's Cap, and this week by the Mitre, received their infection; the mother of one being his wife's sister, and the other his or her kinswoman. He was (as I think I in part told you in my last) by trade a bookseller, but kept an alehouse, and by that occasion, about the beginning of the last month, lodged a soldier, one Thorton, a Yorkshireman, who died in his house the next day. One Watson and his wife, of the Spittle House End, stript him and wound him; and a tailor there, one Pue, bought his clothes; all three of them dying suddenly within four or five days after, which occasioned some muttering and suspicion then, but the circumstances being not known, and the plague at London not then spoken of, it vanished and was forgotten. About the beginning of this month, some three weeks since, died Disher himself suddenly, being walking and drinking till some hour before, which drinking humour made most conceive he died of distemper that way, though some, who had a little hint of the former circumstances, suspected the worst. Howsoever, the most were secure, insomuch, that because he was a bookseller, all of that trade (saving Mr. Greene, who was not at home) made a contribution to his funeral, and went there with others to bring him forth, to the number of sixty persons, or more. The wicked woman, his wife, concealed what had formerly happened, and though the business were examined before the plague broke out at the Castle End, yet she still denying it, as also did the rest whom it concerned, until that her sister's child dying by the Cardinal's Cap, it was discovered, and now confirmed by the death of her maid. Herself, who, they say, hath a sore or two upon her, was carried yesterday to the pest-houses upon the common toward Hinton, being till now only shut up and watched, as are still all those that are found to have had any family relation or converse with her or her husband in that danger, or with those who died thereupon at Spittle House End.

This is our perfect story, from the mouths of those who are appointed to take notice of and to order such as fall in danger, and to see those searched which die in this time of suspicion. In the mean time, our University is in a manner wholly dissolved, all meetings and exercises ceasing. In

many colleges, almost none left. In ours, of twenty-seven messes, we have not five; our gates strictly kept; none but fellows to go forth, or any to be let in without the consent of the major part of our society, of which we have but seven at home at this instant. Only a sizer may go, with his tutor's ticket, upon an errand. Our butcher, baker, and chandler, bring their provisions to the college gates, where the steward and cook receive them. We have taken all our officers we need into the college, and none may stir out. If he doth, he is to come in no more. Yea, we have taken three women into our college, and appointed them a chamber to lie in together; two are bed-makers, one a laundress. I hope the next parliament will include us in the general pardon. We have turned out our porter, and appointed our barber both porter and barber, allowing him a chamber next to the gates. Thus, we live as close prisoners, and I hope without danger.

At London, the bill was this week but seven. Whereof in Botolph's, Aldgate, two; St. Giles's, Cripplegate, two; St. Clement Danes, three. And yet, which is strange, many places near London, as my author writes, are infected, especially towards the water-side, as Greenwich, Newington, Barnes, Ditton, by Kingston; and on this side Thames, Twickenham, by Isleworth, Hounslow; some say Hampton Court, Brentford, &c. Thus my author. Others name Lambeth and Croydon also. By all which it should seem to be dispersed by those disbanded soldiers, and if care be taken, by God's blessing, may be stopped before it grow dangerous.

For news, I sent you the last week the relation of the Earl of Pembroke's death, which I at that instant received. There was, besides, in our letters these particulars: that on Sunday before, some pursuivants and other officers, having apprehended some of his majesty's popish subjects as they came from mass, out of the house of Monsieur de Fonteney, the present leiger ambassador for France, the residue retiring back into the court, the French came forth with their naked swords to guard them, but were soundly beaten, and not without bloodshed, into their gates by the people, that with their rude weapons rushed upon

them. The queen's chapel is still so strictly guarded that no subjects of his majesty may enter. And the Spanish ambassador hath of himself prohibited all his majesty's subjects of what nation soever from coming to mass.

Mr. Coryton, who was in the Tower with Sir John Eliot, &c., and was released thence by a submissive petition, hath the greatest part of his land, lying, I suppose, in Ireland, begged by one Plunket, an Irishman, who hath a commission under the great seal to inquire into his title, and accordingly to proceed against him.

There is a poem which I cannot yet get, called "Geffreidos," describing a combat between Geoffrey, the queen's dwarf, and a turkey-cock at Dunkirk.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May-day, [1630].

From London, April 23, we had as followeth: there are three Knights of the Garter chosen, the lord treasurer, the Earl of Lindsey, lord high chamberlain, and the Earl of Exeter.

About Easter time, or somewhat before, was a letter by a gentleman-like man given somewhat early to a porter, two other porters being present, to be delivered to one Mr. Cordall, in Milk Street, who was not then stirring, yet the letter was left, and the porter known. When it came to be opened, there was another enclosed in it to the lord mayor, and in that another to his majesty, wherein, it is said, was very dangerous matter. The porter being questioned by the Lords, produced the other two persons to testify how he received it. The other two said, they doubted not but to know the man, if ever they saw him again, who were thereupon promised a good reward if they met with him; and now they have charged one Thimbleby, sometime, or still, a servant to Mr. Rowland Wilson, vintner, near Blackwell Hall, to be the man who gave the packet, who, it is said, denieth it, but was on Tuesday that week sent to the Tower.

The plague was that week in London but seven. But at Greenwich, there had died on Sunday, Monday, and

Tuesday, six or seven in five houses; and the Friday morning, when my author wrote, it was said to be increased to the number of twelve, and above twenty houses shut up, partly infected, partly of such as have visited those which were. Nevertheless, they were still, at least two days before, at work in the queen's chamber, there having, on Monday night, been a warrant sent thither from his majesty to remove the infected out of the town into the heath. And still, it is said, the queen hath a mind to lie in there, though but in the Castle in the Park. Thus much was written last week.

This week, they write the plague in the city was brought down to three, and the whole number of burials decreased twenty-five.

For Cambridge, I send you a printed bill from the beginning till Saturday last, wherein those which I have marked with a stroke, thus —, died before the infection was publicly known, which was not till April 10. Besides those in the note I sent you on Saturday last, there died that week three more, namely, the night before and that morning wherein I wrote, which, till I had sealed, I knew not of. The one of them was at the pest-house. For this week, since Saturday, I look for a bill from the printing-house. The number, as I think, within the town is some five or six at the most, and one of them broken out this night in a new house, in St. Clement's parish; all the rest beyond the bridge, unless a child that died last night in Trinity parish, a clean corse; but the mother died the week before of the plague.

All our parish, all the peticurie, all the market-hill and round about it, are yet (God be thanked) absolutely clear and unsuspected. What the new moon will discover after to-morrow, God knows.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuterille.

Balsham, October 20, at night, [1630].

There died this last week but three, all in the pest-houses: but a suspicion is of a house in Jesus Lane, where some are said to have died of the purples. This morning one died at a house by the Tolbooth, who had returned

from the Green, and was thought to have been clear, but now thought to die of the plague.

All acts and assemblies of the University are adjourned until the 20th of the next month; by which time the sophisters must return to keep their acts, though but privately in their colleges. The doctor¹ wrote this last week, that Spinola was for certain dead, and the Marquis de la Croce general in his stead. Little else worth writing.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Balsham, October 27, [1630].

I found a letter to myself from Dr. Meddus, whose intelligence was as followeth: that by letters from Antwerp and Italy the certain death of Marquis Spinola was confirmed; who, seeing no hope of life, desired to be carried from the camp before Casal to Genoa, to die there, but died in the way thitherward, September 25-15.

There died of the plague the last week, at London, 61 in twenty-two parishes; 15 within the walls. In Westminster, 3. The whole number of burials, 278.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 27, [1630].

The next day after I came hither I received a letter from Mr. Pory of the 19th of this month. The contents whereof are these: that Bonham Norton was put to close imprisonment till he should make a punctual submission to my lord keeper. The doctor adds, he was threatened with irons. That Sir Robert Cotton's library was restored,² and himself admitted into his majesty's favour. That Sir Miles Hobart, Mr. Selden, Mr. Stroud, and Mr. Valentine, were removed from the Gate-house that week to the prison of the King's Bench. That Dr. Leighton, after he was degraded at Lambeth *in ordine ad altiore[m] pœnam*, and there affronted the court with his

¹ Meddus.

² This does not appear to have been the fact, as appears from Mr. Pory's letter to Sir Thomas Puckering, of May 12, 1631.

hat on his head, was escaped out of the Fleet. The manner was—one Leviston, a zealous Scotsman, a tailor, came with a gray suit of apparel under his cloak, in company of another gentleman, apparelled in the like, and coming to visit a person likewise there. Whilst he went to his friend, Leviston comes to Leighton, disguises him, cuts his beard, and brings him out with him. The porter, thinking he had been that other gentleman who came with him before, let them pass freely. But presently it was discovered that Leighton was gone, the gentleman in the gray, who was left behind, laid hold on, but, for anything could be found, altogether ignorant of the plot, and only intreated by Leviston to go with him, each to visit their several friends there. A general search was made that night in the city, and through the inns of the court, the gentlemen whereof took it unkindly that they should be suspected for Puritans. Leviston and divers of his complices were attached, but no Leighton could be heard of. But I heard yesterday, by letters from London, that he was apprehended at a widow's (some say a lady's) house in Hertfordshire, near Hitchin, and is brought back again to his lodging, to the no small grief of some favourites of his, who, as I heard by one come out of Bedfordshire, said he was delivered out of prison by the prayers of the Church, as St. Peter was. But others about London say, as I hear, that this flight of his had given a great blow to the cause by deserting it, which he should have stood more stoutly to. But, alas! he durst not, for his ears. Leviston, I hear, and his complices are to answer it to-day in the Star Chamber.

But to go on again with my first letter, which moreover relates: that the Dunkirkers have burned houses and taken away cattle in the Isle of Wight. That all the playhouses at London were now again open, since there had died that week of the plague but 18. But this week (I saw the bill) there died but 7 there; for which God be praised. That on Tuesday that week, November 16, was solemn running at the ring in honour of the queen's birthday. On Wednesday, universal ringing of bells for Queen Elizabeth's coronation. That on Thursday, November 18, all the

vintners, inn-holders, and victuallers, were summoned into the Star Chamber for dressing of flesh on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. That one Mr. Vassal was committed to the Fleet for refusing to pay the impost upon currants. That out of some thirteen shires was come about £16,000 for fines for knighthood.

I will add a list of our college officers and retainers who either have died or been endangered by the plague, which I understood not so well till now.¹

We keep all shut in the college still, and the same persons formerly entertained are still with us. We have not had this week company enough to be in commons in the hall; but on Sunday we hope we shall. It is not to be believed how slowly the University returneth. None almost but a few sophisters to keep their acts. We are now eight fellows. Bennet College but four. Scholars not so many. The most in Trinity and St. John's, &c. The reassembling of the University for acts and sermons is therefore again deferred to the 16th of December.

Dr. Chaderton tells me, there hath died of the whole number about 108 in our parish. I have not told them, as having not the bills. You may examine them. I hear not yet of any that hath died of the sickness this week.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 28, Advent Sunday, [1630].

Just now I can tell you that Leighton received part of his censure on Friday morning, when in the Palace-yard before Whitehall; having first received nine stripes, he was advanced to the pillory, and there lost one ear, was slit on one nostril, and branded in the forehead. He spake much comfort to himself, being, he said, assured that in his suffering the Spirit of Glory rested upon him.

¹ 1, our second cook and some three of his house; 2, our gardener and all his house; 3, our porter's child, and himself was at the Green; 4, our butcher and three of his children; 5, our baker, who made our bread in Mr. Atkinson's bakehouse, had two of his children die, but then at his own house, as having no employment at the bakehouse; 6, our minister's daughter had three sores, in her father's house; but her father was then and is still in the college; 7, our laundress (who is yet in the college) her maid died of the infection in her dame's house; 8, add one of our bed-makers in the college, whose son was a prentice in a house in the parish, whither the infection came also.

Leviston, Sanderson, and a third, were also, the day before, I think, censured in the Star Chamber for contriving his escape, at £500 fine, and imprisonment during pleasure. My Lord Chief Baron Walter¹ is dead, died a pious death, but rich withal, his personal estate amounting to £30,000 in value, having left to his eldest son £500 a year land, and to his younger £800 a year, upon condition that he take upon himself some bookish profession; otherwise, not to enjoy a foot. He died on Thursday was fortnight.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 5, 1630.

The remainder of the last week's news, together with what this week brings, is as followeth: That on Friday, November 19, being his majesty's birthday, my lord mayor, as he sat at dinner, received a check from the lords of the council, because he suffered the bells to stand so silent, and a commandment to set them all on work, both in city and suburbs; which was accordingly done, and above a thousand bonfires kindled that night; although his lordship said, when he heard it, that he never knew that ceremony to have been done before. This message may seem to have been occasioned by that universal ringing and flaming of bonfires for Queen Elizabeth's coronation two days before.

The same day, Mr. James Eliot, groom of the privy chamber, and Mr. Cockburne, a Scots carver to his majesty, were committed to the Tower for having buffeted one another in the presence at Whitehall. On Saturday before, viz., November 20, Mr. Noy pleaded for his client, Mr. Vassal, (who denies to pay impost upon currants) endeavouring to prove that he could not be detained in prison, when the Customers had seized ten times as much of his goods as the impost came to, *quia nemo debet pro eodem delicto bis puniri.*

¹ Sir John Walter, educated at Brazennose College, in Oxford. He had been counsellor to the University of Oxford, attorney to Charles Prince of Wales, serjeant-at-law, and in 1625 was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He died November 18, 1630, aged 67 years.

The same day, Mr. Attorney exhibited a Bill in the Exchequer against Mr. Littleton and Mr. Mason, charging them to have been privy to some fraudulent conveyances made by Mr. Walter Long, now prisoner in the Tower; whereby his majesty shall be defrauded of his fine in the Star Chamber.

Dr. Leighton, as ye heard, received half his corporal punishment on Friday was sennight, having had one ear nailed to the pillory and cut off, one nostril slit, and one cheek branded. It is said, the other side should be so served, but it is not yet; and perhaps shall not. For, at the censuring of those that helped him to escape, some of the lords said, that had he not made an escape, his majesty was graciously inclined to have pardoned all his corporal punishment. His wife went before him to the execution, and said, "As Christ was crucified between two thieves, so was her husband led between two knaves." When he put his neck in the pillory, he said, "This is Christ's yoke," and that the spirit of glory rested upon him. When his ear was taken off, he said, "Blessed be God. If I had a hundred, I would lose them all for the cause." He said his wounds were Christ's wounds, and such like passages. But the doctor¹ this week relates two additional ones, if not worse, concerning him. As, first, that many resorting to him, as at other times, so the day he purposed to escape in the manner ye have heard, he went to prayer, wherein he had strange ejaculations, as desiring God, for his own glory and cause, to show a wonder; and, as he did for Peter and others, so by night to send his angel to open the prison gates, and fetch him forth. In so much that the day after, his disciples said, "God had heard his prayer, and by his angel delivered him:" which, as saith my author, is a gross impiety. The second was on the pillory, where he told the people he suffered that for their sins; and out of the Psalms and Isaiah applied unto himself the prophecies of Christ's sufferings, to the great scandal of many.

Dr. Donne, dean of St. Paul's, was said to be dead² in the former week's letters; and it is not yet contradicted,

¹ Meddus.

² He did not die till March 31, 1631.

that I hear. Fowkes, the merchant who heretofore opposed so much in the matter of tonnage and poundage, hath sent some letters beyond sea, wherein he hath entrenched upon matters of state, and is therefore brought into the Star Chamber. It is said Justice Davenport,¹ of the King's Bench, is like to be lord chief baron.

There died this week at London, of the plague, 20 in twelve parishes; of which, 4 in four within the walls. So it is increased again since the former, 13.

When I had thus mustered together all the news I had, and laid the paper by me, comes Mr. Pory's letter, which furnishes me with some more material and full intelligence: That Sir Humphrey Davenport, my lord treasurer's kinsman, shall be lord chief baron; Mr. Solicitor puisne judge of the Common Pleas in his place; and Sir John Finch solicitor. That Ewer having put in a demurrer into the Star Chamber, to stop the Earl of Danby's bill against him, it was overruled by their lordships, and he enjoined to prepare his answer against the next term, being charged in the said bill that he termed his lordship a base lord. Coryton, and Cotton, two gentlemen of the late House of Commons, being out of the same court of Star Chamber summoned by the Lord Viscount Falkland to answer certain interrogatories concerning one Bushell, who complained in parliament against his lordship, do claim the privilege of that sovereign court of not being questioned in any other inferior, for anything there said and done. So the matter is referred to my lord chief justice, who is the next term to deliver his opinion thereupon.

That there hath of late been such undecidable controversies between our merchant-adventurers and the merchants of Holland about the tare² of our cloths, that we have not vented one cloth at Delft these five months; and now are removing the trade to Embden. And our cloths of late have been so slightly made, as in one half year in the Low Countries our nation hath abated to the value of 11,000 in that kind. But now there is a skilful commis-

¹ Sir Humphrey Davenport. He succeeded Sir John Walter as lord chief baron.

² "Tare signifies the abatement or allowance for faults or defects in our cloths."

—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

sioner sent into the four shires of white cloths, to see them made according to the several statutes, in such sort as hereafter they shall be subject to no tare at all.

Our ships are embargoed in Spain until they have sent their fleet to sea. On Tuesday, November 30, arrived a post out of Spain, with the conclusion of the peace between them and us; which on Sunday (this day) is to be proclaimed, and on Tuesday to be sworn to by his majesty. Against which day a royal feast is to be provided there for entertainment of the Spanish ambassador, Don Carlos de Colonna, who in one respect deserveth it; namely, because he hath sent an express messenger with a command from his Catholic majesty to Dunkirk, that after Sunday (December 5) they shall take no more of his majesty's subjects by sea.

After Sir Francis Cottington had sworn the king to the peace, he told him, "Sir, now it is in your power to break the peace."—"And is it not in your king's power," said his Catholic majesty, "to do the like? What mean you by this saying?"—"I mean," quoth Sir Francis, "that in not restoring the Palatinate, your majesty may break the peace."—"I hope," said the king, "that I shall obtain as much favour from the Emperor for the Count Palatine, as the King of France hath done for the Duke of Mantua."

Dr. Leighton was branded in the cheek with an S; and, though he bore his punishment very stoutly, yet he is since fallen into a fever. Had not the Scottish tailor, the shoemaker, and the joiner, carried themselves most submissively in the Star Chamber, they had undergone corporal punishment for helping him to escape.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 19, 1630.

The doctor [Meddus] writes that the peace with Spain begins not in the Narrow Seas till Monday, December 20, nor on the coast of Spain till after three months, nor to the Southward before the expiration of nine months. That on Monday the Earl of Castlehaven¹ was taken from

¹ Mervin, Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven.

the Gatehouse, and brought to the Tower, as for other most foul and abominable misdemeanours towards his own wife,¹ so for cuckolding his own son by his Ganymeda in his own sight, and other such abominable and never-heard-of villanies in our land before. That it was reported he should say to the Lords,² "As other men had their several delights, some in one thing, and some in another, so his whole delight was to damn souls, by causing them to do such things as might surely effect it." The king said, when he was first committed, he should be hanged, or howsoever die for his villanies. But whether the judges can find law enough for it, it is not yet resolved.

That at their London Session were about thirty cast; twenty-three had judgment of death, and amongst them an old knight, one Sir N. Halsey,³ for having two wives; by the first of which, and lawful one, he had sixteen children. But he is reprieved.

That on Tuesday, the Spanish ambassador feasted at his house, in Aldersgate Street, my Lord Treasurer, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marshal, Earl of Dorset, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Holland; my Lord Viscount Dorchester being also invited, but detained by his gout.

That which now follows, is Mr. Pory's alone, viz., That Monsieur Joachimi, the States' leiger ambassador here, in respect of the great famine and want of bread now in Holland, became a suitor to the Lords by reference from his majesty that he might obtain for his masters the States to furnish their war-magazine 1500 lasts, that is 1500 quarters of wheat, and 300 lasts more to supply their garrisons in Brazil. The Lords answered, it was impossible, both in respect of our scarcity and against the humour of the people, who would presently rise in combustion when they should perceive any such matter. And

¹ His second wife, Anne, daughter of Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, and widow of Grey Bridges, Lord Chandos.

² "Whether he said so to the Lords or not, *fides sit penes authores*; but a Fellow of our House assures me, he knows a gentleman, a neighbour of his, to whom he stuck not to say as much."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

³ "He is a Cornishman, and, I hear, pleaded for himself that the first, by whom he had so many children, was not his wife, because the priest but half married them, omitting I know not what."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

besides, that whatsoever Ireland and Scotland could spare, would be little enough for England.

Sir Henry Vane should have been here six weeks ago, but he was importuned by the States to stay to help them to hammer out a peace or truce with Spain, whereof it seemeth they stand in need. But through their churlish jarring with our merchants about the tare of cloth at Delft, ours have removed their staple, and the designed place was Embden; from whence news is come, that our three ships sent thither are safely arrived, having narrowly escaped certain sands, upon which they touched. And now my author hears their headstrong merchants would willingly condescend to what our merchants stood upon; but he fears it comes too late. For Antwerp, as one says newly come from thence, stands in confident expectation to have the staple established there; whither, not being able to pass by the way of Schelde, because of Lilloskance, they have designed Ostend for the port from whence our cloths may be transported a little over land to Ghent, and from thence by water to Antwerp. And to add a little more discomfort to those of the United Provinces, they say Sir Edward Parham, who, in *primo* of King James, was arraigned of high treason at Winchester, is raising a regiment of English to serve the archduchess, if he can get them, for they were but homely used the last time they served her.

But howsoever the general opinion is, that Marquis Hamilton will, without fail, the next spring, transport for the King of Sweden 8000 or 10,000 men, the greatest part, if not all, out of Scotland. And before the beginning of Michaelmas term, my author saith, he saw some sixteen or twenty carpenters at work upon an engine, or carriage, for six muskets, manageable by one man, and to be crowded before him like a wheelbarrow upon wheels, and of which, within the compass of a day, that one man shall discharge more shot (so saith Captain Hamilton, the projector or engineer) than forty single musketeers. Of these the marquis hath made, and will make 1000, which, at £5 a piece, will cost him £5000. Whereunto, that he might want no money, he hath sold his pension in the

custom-house, of £2,500 yearly, for £12,000, whereby it appears how far he hath engaged himself in this business; and howsoever the Spaniards may like it, it is no breach of the peace.

Mr. Selden, Sir Miles Hobart, Mr. Stroud, and Mr. Valentine, have been newly offered, by the judges of the King's Bench, that they may now bail themselves to their good behaviour upon their own bonds, without troubling any sureties, and in small sums; which, because it is a new proposition, they are jealous, and dare not meddle with it. But they have since been suitors to the judges, that either they might have leave to go to church, or else be committed to the Tower, where there is a church to go to.

Mr. Chambers, the merchant, hath professed to the Warden of the Fleet, to Mr. Attorney, the Barons of the Exchequer, the Judges of the King's Bench, and the Lords of the Council, once and again, saying, "Put me above or under ground, in light or in darkness, I will never acknowledge the sentence given against me in the Star Chamber to be just." But for all this stoutness, he cannot get £3000 worth of goods out of the hands of the officers of the custom-house. What stomachs have some men! Mr. Fowke's letter, for which Mr. Attorney summoned him into the Star Chamber, and which was written to his factor at Leghorn, since dead, was, some say, thus, or to this effect:—"The times are dangerous, the parliament being once again dissolved; which, I fear me, will neither be to our profit nor to our honour. Lord have mercy upon our honour."

There died at London this last week but five of the plague, and but one of them within the walls. With us, on Thursday,¹ died one, in the same house where the last died three weeks and five days before; that is, within two days of the month expiring. But the house hath been all this time shut up, and so it disquiets us not.

¹ "The same morning died Dr. Cage, of Borough Green, having but a short time enjoyed his new dignity. We are not here so many as we are wont to be, yet enough to hear quickly when a good living falls void."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 10, 1630-1.

The ground of the quarrel between Mr. Croftes, one of the queen's pages, and the Earl of Denbigh, was this:— Mr. Croftes had angered the Earl of Desmond,¹ young son to my Lord Denbigh, who thereupon spurned Mr. Croftes. Mr. Croftes knocked him in the queen's presence, and made him go crying to his father. He sends his glove in token of a challenge, and into Hyde Park they go. The event was, as you shall hear in the transcript.

That the Earl of Carlisle succeeds Sir James Fullerton in his place of groom of the stole, gratis, notwithstanding that his majesty, to comfort Sir James in his sickness, sent him word, that whosoever should succeed him should pay to his assigns £6000: The place is worth £2,500 per annum.

That after the proclamation of the peace fifteen days, the Dunkirkers had, contrary to the treaty, taken twenty of our English ships.

There was a letter delivered to the Earl of Carlisle from an unknown hand to this effect:—"Right honourable your lordship, being in so great grace and favour with his majesty, should do an acceptable service to move him, that no more masques should be upon the Lord's day, but on some other days, &c."

There hath none died of the plague since before Christmas. The two in the General Bill are of some formerly omitted.

Mr. John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering.

January 13, 1630-1.

That on Friday last, at night, it was his hap to be a spectator of the pompous deportation of Sir James Fullerton's corpse from his house in Broad Street to Westminster, being accompanied with no fewer than 100 coaches, with torchlights answerable. "Little did he

¹ "The Earl of Desmond says to Mr. Croftes, 'Your nose are too short.' Mr. Croftes replies, 'So is your nose.' The earl spurns him. Thus the doctor relates it."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

think of such grandeur, when he was usher of the Free School in Dublin; and Sir James Hamilton, since created Viscount Claneboy,¹ and now one of the greatest subjects in that kingdom, schoolmaster: where they laid the first foundation of their fortune, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by conveying the letters of some great lords of England, who worshipped the sun-rising, to King James, and his letters back to them, this way of obliquity being chosen as more safe than the direct northern road."

That a few days before he died he sent this complimentary message to the king by the Marquis Hamilton, that if the souls in heaven had any notion of persons and of things done on earth, he would, as he had ever done, continue to pray perpetually to Almighty God for him. That a little before his death the king had sealed a privy seal to him, and his assignees, for £8000; and that the Earl of Carlisle, who royally feasted the Spanish ambassador on Sunday last, succeeds him [Fullerton] in his place of groom of the stole, gratis.

That Philip Burlamachi hath gotten a brave employment into France, to fetch home the latter half of the queen's portion, being £120,000, and satisfaction also for three great rich English ships, treacherously taken by the French after the peace proclaimed. "Do you think that the French, being so exhausted by their wars, would part with such heaps of treasure for nothing? No: you may be sure they would not. The bait, therefore, to allure them thereunto, is the fort of Kebeck,² in Canada, to get it out of Captain Kirk's clutches; the trade of beavers and otters, which they want to enjoy by the possession whereof, having been worth unto them, *communibus annis*, £30,000 by year." That the said fort sticketh in their hearts, as Calais did in Queen Mary's.

That certain merchants of London were about to set out a new voyage for the discovery of the north-west passage, one of the adventurers wherein asking in his hearing Sir Thomas Button, who had formerly been employed in the like discovery, his opinion concerning the same, his answer was, that if they meant to do good

¹ Serjeant-at-law and privy counsellor to James I.

² Quebec.

therein, they must make choice of an honest and sufficient man to be employed therein, whom they must not tie up with any directions, but relying upon his art and judgment, leave him at liberty to practise the same according to occasion; "for," said he, "the directions given to me at my setting out to my voyage for the like discovery, destroyed quite the success thereof: for having sailed four hundred leagues into the Strait, and the tides of the Eastern Ocean ceasing, and the tides of the Western Ocean coming in strong, which I ought to have followed, I was by my directions diverted into a bay, where, being frozen up, I was forced to abide all the winter, and so leave the further pursuit of that discovery.

That the king had made a grant to the Earls of Warwick and Holland, of a little island lying near unto the coast of New Spain, in the West Indies, called by the Spaniards Catalina, but by their lordships Henriette, after the name of our queen.

That on Sunday last were published in the court strict orders, appointing who should come into the privy lodgings, and who should not. That the same day Sir Robert Yale (I believe, says Sir Thomas Puckering, he mistakes his name for Deall), a gentleman of the privy chamber, and Mr. Patrick Murray, one of the king's carvers, did in the same room spit in one another's faces; and that the same night the masque was performed at the court with great splendour. That the king and queen went yesterday towards Newmarket, where the university of Cambridge shall be spared from furnishing preachers to the court, the king's chaplains in ordinary being appointed to that function.

That Sir Humphrey Davenport, late puisne judge of the Common Pleas, is now by patent under the great seal called to be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

"Are not the patentees for discovery of hidden treasure come yet into Warwickshire? of all which treasure by them to be found the king is to have the fourth part."

He observed some differences between the articles of the peace newly concluded with Spain, and those which were concluded between King James and Philip III.

in anno 1604, viz., that those were treated and concluded in London, because the Spaniards begged that peace: these at Madrid, because we sought the peace. Witness Mr. Endymion Porter's journey into Spain three years ago, sent by the late duke. 2. That to those articles the names, together with the qualities of all the commissioners, English, Spanish, and Flemish, for the Archdukes Albertus and Isabella, were added in print, to these the name of no one commissioner. 3. That to those, as an additament, were affixed five other articles, two whereof tended to exempt the English from payment of the duty of 30 per 100, and the other three were to mitigate and qualify the rigour of the Inquisition; all which are left out in these. And, lastly, that those articles were tripartite between the King of England, the King of Spain, and the Archdukes beforenamed; these are only bipartite between the said two kings, by reason that the archduchess hath seven years ago resigned up to the King of Spain her right and interest in the Low Countries.

That the report goes that Sir Edward Parham shall in the spring carry over 4000 men to serve on that side. That the Hollanders being shy of these proceedings and of our herring fleet, in preparing against the spring, will neither buy of our merchant adventurers their cloth lying at the value of £100,000 at Delft, nor suffer them to export it to any other mart, but keep it as a pawn to save them harmless against any afterclap. That on the 19th of December last, O.S., they had like to have lost Wesell; for the Rhine being frozen over, 6000 of the enemy, coming over the Rhine from Rhinberk side, gave a furious assault to the town, 400 of them having by scaling gotten into the same, who were fain to leave their bones there, and the rest to retire.

That some say, that the Duke of Saxony hath joined with the King of Sweden; but until summer be come, Mr. Pory cannot tell what to believe of that prince, so various and uncertain the reports are concerning him.

That at Marseilles the common people have been so exasperated with new taxes, as that they cried out "Vive le Roy Philippe;" as who should say, we can soon call in

Philip the Fourth : and that the report is that all Provence and Languedoc are in actual rebellion, against whom the Prince of Condé is sent : that Burgundy is in a combustion : and that the governor of Verdun is professedly revolted from the crown of France.

That Sir Isaac Wake, the king's ambassador in Piedmont, designed from France, hath had thirteen of his people dead in his house of the plague, of which three waited on him in his chamber, but not one gentleman ; but that they have all of them had fevers : and that Mr. Morton, who brought the last packet, had come all the way with a quotidian fever, of a cold fit and a hot fit upon him ; who, while the cold fit was upon him, was fain to run on foot, and in his hot fit to post it moderately : but that in nine or ten days after his arrival at London he had taken off the fever. That at the instance of the Lady Wake there had been thanksgiving made in divers churches in London for her husband's escape, and prayers for his safe return : and that the king, to comfort him after his affliction, had given him a boon (besides his allowance of £6 per diem) of £600.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 30, 1630-1.

On Monday, the first day of this term, Sir Humphrey Davenport was elevated into the place of lord chief baron by my lord keeper and lord treasurer, where he promised respect to the ease of the subject as well as to the profit of his majesty. Yesterday, January 29, was the day he appointed to decide the pleas against fining for knighthood. Into his place of puisne judge of the Common Pleas, my author heard, that Baron Vernon (now one of the judges of the Exchequer) is to ascend, and Mr. Weston, a lawyer, kinsman to my lord treasurer, into his.

Sir Edward Coke being very infirm in body, a friend of his sent him two or three doctors to regulate his health ; whom he told that he had never taken physic since he was born, and would not now begin ; and that he had now upon him a disease which all the drugs of Asia, the gold of Africa, the silver of America, nor all the doctors of

Europe could cure—*old age*. He therefore thanked them and his friend that sent them, and dismissed them nobly, with a reward of twenty pieces to each man.

The most prevailing word at this time in Holland is, arm, arm, arm. They levy horse and prepare foot to be in the field before the enemy, and do pretend to raise 10,000 horse, a number which they never yet aspired unto. They have of late (if one Vander Bragg, a Dutchman, told my author true) declared the Arminians to be schismatics, so soon as they had repaid those of Amsterdam the great sum they had borrowed of them towards the siege of the Busse.

My author was told the day before his writing, that my Lord [Sir Henry] Vane was returned thence pure, that is, free from all obligation to that republic. For whereas other ambassadors have been rewarded with house rent, gifts, or pensions, (as Sir Ralph Winwood's son and heir enjoys a pension from them during life) he neither was nor would be beholden to them for the value of a doit; and so can freely discourse to his majesty the state of affairs there. Those States by their edicts do stiffly oppose our clothing; yet necessity makes their subjects buy of ours by stealth: which the States knowing well enough, dare not but connive at, for fear of stirring up an hornets' nest about their ears. And so now ours seem to have the better end of the staff.

The youngest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia was lately christened at the Hague under the name of Sophia.¹ Her godfathers were the States of Friesland, and godmothers the Countess of Keulinberg and Madame de Brederode, who each of them gave £30 sterling, to be distributed in the nursery, as the godfathers did £40, and in a box of gold worth £50 a patent to their god-daughter for a pension of £40² *durante vitá*.

The voyage intended for the North-West discovery is chiefly furthered by Mr. Briggs, and the man to be therein employed is one Fox, a master of a ship of Hull, and though never yet in those parts, so my author thinks, yet is held to be a very skilful seaman.

¹ Afterwards Electress of Hanover.

² The figures in the MS. are not easily made out.

A friend of mine being this last week present at the High Commission Court, heard there a case of marriage between a Welch gentleman and his sister's son's wife judged to be incest: yet the gentleman had had five children by her. This was in the same degree for affinity which the case of Sir G. A.¹ is for consanguinity.

There died in the city this last week of the plague nine; whereof but one within the walls. We continue at Cambridge still sound, God be thanked.

Sir George Gresley to

Essex House, February 2, 1632.

Here is no foreign news at this instant, but what this enclosed aviso advertiseth: only there is a rumour that the King of Sweden with a selected company is gone suddenly from his court, and great assembly of ambassadors, upon some secret design not known unto any. Whereupon some ill-wishers to his prosperous proceeding have presumed to report that he was taken prisoner in riding post to meet his queen, or in riding forth, slenderly attended, to view some of his enemy's works. And it is said my lord treasurer hath called one gentleman to account for the same, and made him bring forth his author. But I cannot as yet hear the certainty of the gentleman's news, nor the truth thereof. On Sunday last the old Venetian ambassador took his leave at court, and the new one was received, and had audience there.

The queen and her ladies do practise the masque, which they intend to perform at Shrovetide twice a-week.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 6, [1630-1].

Their majesties came both from Royston to London on Monday last, intending to have lain at Theobald's, where, not finding their bedding arrived, they were enforced to come to Whitehall, where, nothing being prepared for their entertainment, they were fain to try what hospitality the prince kept at St. James's. On Saturday, yesterday

¹ Giles Allington.—See Mr. Mead's letter of May 20, 1631.

was sennight, January 29, Sir Henry Wallop, sheriff this last year of Hampshire, Sir Thomas Thynne, of Somersetshire, Mr. Elwes, of Northamptonshire, as likewise those that were then high sheriffs of Suffolk, Worcester, and Dorsetshire, were fined at £200 a man for not having summoned so many to fine for knighthood, as the commissioner found afterwards out.¹

On Tuesday Mr. Littleton, Mr. Sherland, and Mr. Mason, three famous lawyers, pleaded for some of those that have refused to fine. They confessed both the antiquity and legality of the king's right to summon his subjects *ad arma gerenda* at the time of his coronation, and that his majesty might summon them *toties quoties*, until they either appeared, or submitted themselves to a fine. First, therefore, they were to be particularly called *per legatos et bonos summonitores*, to appear in a certain place at a certain time, most of which have been now omitted. Whither being come, they were to present themselves to the lord great chamberlain; and if within four days he did not employ them in the king's service, they might safely depart to their own home. If he did, then were they to receive an upper garment and a belt out of the king's wardrobe. Some are of opinion, saith mine author, they made the case very clear on their client's side: others, that they by consequence spake more for his majesty's advantage than for their clients; and that Mr. Attorney would as on Friday (which was the day) make good use thereof, and be able to answer all their arguments.

For the sums that have been brought in at several times before Christmas, my author was told they do amount to £50,000, and since Christmas to £20,000; and that my lord treasurer aims to advance them to £100,000.

On Monday, Mr. Attorney put up an information in the King's Bench against Mr. Selden, Sir Miles Hobart, Mr. Stroud, and Mr. Valentine, for having, in the time of the late pestilent vacation, abandoned their prison of the Gatehouse, and retired into the country; whereunto on Thursday morning they all appeared.

¹ "The doctor says he heard the new Hampshire sheriff had returned 120 more than Sir H. Wallop had."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

Sir Giles Allington¹ was the same day cited to appear before the high commission at Lambeth; but while he was expected, my Lord Wimbledon, his ally, came in, and made his excuse.

Mr. Walter Montagu, in his return forth of France, was, by reason of an hideous storm, forced to cast himself suddenly into a boat near Dover pier, and for haste to leave behind him those packets he brought over for the king and State, and his own jewels which were given him in the French court, in the bark which brought him over. But the bark, getting fortunately into Dunkirk, returned within three days after to Dover, and delivered up his charge. The East India fleet being departed with these easterly winds, my Lord of Denbigh is gone the same way with them in ambassage to the King of Persia.

Mr. Henry Briggs, of Oxford, the great mathematician, is lately dead,² at seventy-four years of age.

There died of the plague at London but six, and in four out-parishes. We continue, God be praised, sound.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 27, 1630-1.

On Sunday night last, Mr. James Maxwell, accompanied by two of my lord treasurer's sons, brought news out of France that all there is in combustion; that the queen-mother is confined to her house in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, and a strong guard set upon her.

For home news, I will begin with that great controversy between my Lord Marshal and the King's Bench, which took up so much of my last letter. It was discussed on Friday was sennight before his majesty and the lords at Whitehall, but not decided, because though the two tip-staves were then in mercy released out of the Marshalsea, yet his lordship hath authority given him to prosecute Jones anew, and to send a new warrant after him, if any messenger of his lordship's dare pursue him into Wales, whither he is gone.

¹ "A friend of mine hath a letter that my Lord of Holland had already begged his fine."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

² He died 26 January, 1630-1.

Judge Jones,¹ for speaking somewhat too plainly of my Lord of Arundel's court,² was shrewdly shaken up by both lords chamberlains of the king's and queen's side; my Lord of Pembroke calling him a saucy fellow. In fine, my author heard, the judges notwithstanding (if my Lord of Arundel do catch Jones once again) are resolved to relieve him, and to stand to the maintenance of their court, being, as they affirm, the highest and ancientest next the parliament, as where, till King Henry VIII.'s days, all the kings were wont to sit in person, and where all the subjects in England, both peers and commons, are tryable for goods, lands, and life; where the judges do in so high a degree represent his majesty's person, as that if the greatest subject in England do kill one of them as he sits there to administer justice, he shall be guilty of high treason. The judges did acknowledge themselves, considered in their own persons, to be but poor mean men, and my Lord of Arundel to be a person of high birth and eminent fortune, yet that in the former respects, when they sat in judgment upon the bench, they were not to yield unto him. My author heard on the day he wrote that his lordship had been a suitor to his majesty to appoint some commissioners to determine the controversy between them. His lordship for the present had prevailed by vouching a statute enacted anno 13, Richard II., cap. 2, which saith that in case the constable or marshal do draw causes into their court which belong to the decision of other courts, the party grieved (as now Jones, for example) must obtain a privy seal from his majesty, directed to the constable or marshal, to stop their proceeding until the king's council have determined to the jurisdiction of what court the cause belongeth. Whereby the king's council some antiquaries would understand not the privy council, but the king's great council of lords in parliament.

On Saturday (yesterday sennight) Sir Richard Weston's case concerning certain lands and manors he sues for, which his ancestors sold, was ventilated in the Star Cham-

¹ Sir William Jones, one of the justices of the King's Bench.

² See some account of this court in the Earl of Clarendon's History of his own Life, vol. i., edit. 1759, 8vo.

ber; and the *innotescimus*, or certificate, under the great seal (which is a bar against his obtaining of those lands) was damned by my lord treasurer and nine voices more, there being but three voices for it, viz., the Lord Chief Justice Hyde, my lord privy seal, and my lord keeper, who all spoke to the point, and my lord keeper endeavoured to answer all the arguments and allegations of the ten opposites. The final pronounciation of sentence is deferred till the hearing of Mr. Stoke, who hath purchased one of those manors, and whose evidence the *innotescimus* is.

On the same Saturday night, a woman having negligently left a pan of coals under one of the stalls or shops in Westminster Hall, which do pass along from the Common Pleas towards the Chancery, all those shops save three were burnt up; and the flame mounted so high on the west side of the Hall, as not only some of the angels' wings were singed, but the fire took hold on the roof; and had not Mr. Squib, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, passed occasionally ¹ through the Hall betimes on Sunday morning, and hired two sailors to climb up, and to open the lead in three or four places and pour down water, that goodly hall had been burned down. So now his majesty will suffer no more shops to stand there.

One day since the term, my lord keeper in the Star Chamber said, that his majesty's instructions, lately published, were not to diminish the authority, but to stir up the diligence of justices of the peace.

There died of the plague at London this last week, 9.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 6, 1630-1.

For our intelligence on Saturday, it is as followeth: that there are a great number of schedules to be sent out of the Exchequer all England over, to estreat issues upon all such, as being summoned, have not as yet paid fines for their knighthood. And the issues, they say, are increased from 40s. to £4, £6, £8, £10, yea, some to £20. It is thought that ere long they will bring all the unknighthed

¹ As it was his custom on occasion.

lords into play, and that they expect from the Lord Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston, for a fine for his knighthood, no less than £2000. All the six clerks were some few days since called before the Lords to compound for their exorbitant fees, and it is thought it will cost them £2000 a man. But Mr. D'Ewes, saith my author, is not like to live many days;¹ and so there is like to be another great windfall for Sir Julius Cæsar, before Sir Dudley Digges steps into his place.

So soon as the two lords chief justices have ridden their circuits, they are to meet at Salisbury, there to indict the Earl of Castlehaven, whom, if the grand jury find guilty, he is then to be tried by his peers, at the King's Bench bar, either the next term, or before.

That my Lord of Carlisle was, the last week save one, sworn groom of the stole, in Sir James Fullerton's place. That Captain Pennington told Captain Gosnald the other day, at my lord treasurer's, that the Earl of Holland, our chancellor, should ere long be made admiral.

That the Marchioness of Hamilton was, on Tuesday last, delivered of a daughter, and that they say her husband's expedition towards the King of Sweden holdeth good, and that his majesty, to give him encouragement and maintenance in those wars, hath bestowed on him the impost of wines in Scotland, which will amount very near to £20,000 a year. Sir Francis Cottington is daily expected out of Spain, who, they say, in the King's ship the *Corvertine*, brings hither a huge sum of réals and pistoles, to be conveyed or made over by bill into Flanders for the King of Spain's service.

That my Lord of Canterbury's Office of the Faculties was never so set on work as now, for granting of licenses during life to eat flesh on fasting days; my lord keeper and my lord treasurer (as they say) having advised their friends so to do; because there will be a strict account taken concerning that business; and it is thought that thousands will be fined, not only for dressing, but for eating flesh;

¹ Paul D'Ewes, Esq., one of the Six Clerks, and father of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. He died, 22 February, 1630, of a fever and pleurisy, at his house in the Six Clerks' Office.—*Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, written by himself.* Harl. MSS., vol. 646.

and my lord mayor, they say, hath order to swear four men in every ward to make diligent search who do dress or eat flesh.

A certain cock-brained English minister, saith my author, preaching in Holland to an auditory of English soldiers, and saying that Queen Elizabeth was a slut, because she had not swept the house of God clean of those rags and relics of popery, the soldiers, so soon as he was come forth of the church, fell upon him, and cuffed him well favourably for his pains.¹

Of the plague at London died 7.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 7, 1631.

Here are two couriers lately come from Sir Henry Vane; but all the packets going now to Newmarket, the contents thereof are kept there from us, being, as it seemeth, matters of secrecy. By word of mouth only they have reported that the King of Sweden had lately taken Creutznach, the only town of the Palatinate besides Frankendale and Heidelberg that remained in the enemy's hands. It is thought that the said king hath a straight intelligence, and some great design in hand with the States, having lately sent unto them his great chancellor Oxenstiern, a man of great reputation in Christendom for his abilities and valour. And this is the time that the States have appointed to put their army into the field. A letter come from those parts hath spread a rumour here that the Duke of Saxony should be fallen from the King of Sweden to the emperor; but there is little credit given thereunto. I had almost omitted to let you know that one of those two couriers that are come from Sir Henry Vane, named Gifford, a great papist, and a man being very ill affected to the King of Sweden, of whose carriage and affairs he had made here a very partial and prejudicial report in a former journey; he being complained of for it by the said king to Sir Henry Vane, was despatched hither by him, as Urias

¹ To abuse Queen Elizabeth has now become too common a practice, with writers of a certain class, to excite observation.

by David, with letters of his own condemnation, and so hath been clapped up upon his arrival here. What proceeding may be farther against him, or what mystery in the proceeding, we shall shortly see.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 13, 1630-1.

My author hears that no mean or ordinary fine shall excuse those six clerks of the Chancery, no, nor some forty officers more of the same court, as cursitors, filazers, petty bags, hanaper, &c., for having taken exorbitant fees; and that the prothonotaries and other officers of the King's Bench and of other courts will fall within the same predicament, Mr. Attorney being to inform against them all in the Star Chamber, and their lordships there to censure them at their pleasures and discretions.

That for certain all those that have been summoned and have not fined for knighthood, must now pay three entire subsidies and a half, that is, seventeen single subsidies and a half; as if a man be £10 land in the subsidy-book, he shall pay £35.

The last week was christened the Marquis of Hamilton's daughter; her godmothers being the queen, and the old Countess of Buckingham and my lord treasurer her godfather. On Thursday it was said that his lordship the marquis was gone towards Scotland, to make preparations there for his expedition toward the King of Sweden into Germany; and that his majesty, besides £40,000 impressed money, which he must have of my lord treasurer for his better encouragement and maintenance in these wars, hath given him the impost of wines in Scotland for eleven years.

On Monday, the king sent away one Mr. Elphinston, his majesty's carver, to carry assurance of the marquis's journey; and for the defraying of his charges, though the king allowed him nothing, yet the marquis gave him £300. That there are six colonels nominated, three Scottish, as Hamilton, Ramsey, and Grey; two English, Sir Jacob Astley (who also is serjeant-major-general of all those

troops) and Sir William Broucker; and one Irish, who is to command an Irish regiment, Sir Piers Crosby.

Sir Francis Cottington is, about Sunday last, come home from his ambassage in Spain, extreme rich both in money and jewels, the king there having, at his arrival at Lisbon, given him for his first boon the custom and impost of £20,000 worth of kerseys and baize. He hath brought home with him a great mass of treasure of gold and silver for the King of Spain's service and payment of his soldiers in the Low Countries, which occasioned his so long stay: the quantity, as my author heard, being of 120,000 pounds weight, which equals £360,000, (the doctor writes two hundred chests) which is all to be coined here, and made over in bills of exchange into Flanders by Burlamachi and Ricott. There came, besides, along with the king's ship which brought him, fifteen hundred Spaniards, who, since she got into Portsmouth, are safely arrived at Dunkirk.

Don Carlos de Colonna, the late Spanish ambassador here, so soon as he was landed in that town, called in question and hanged two of those sea captains; the one for having expressly set sail out of that port for the robbing of English after he knew the peace was concluded; (those that were abroad at the conclusion having fifteen days' liberty) the other for having since those fifteen days put some of our nation at sea to extreme torture, to make them confess they had Holland goods aboard. This Don Carlos is, under the archduchess, general of the wars for the King of Spain in the Netherlands, and labours mainly to bring the staple of our cloth to Bruges, in Flanders, where it was of old, before it came to Antwerp.

On Monday last, Sir Miles Hobart was released out of the Gate-house upon his own £50 bond to his good behaviour; for which some account him pusillanimous.

My Lord of Salisbury hath found out among his evidences that original deed under three seals, which hath confirmed that *innotescimus* under the great seal, which, since the end of the term, my lord treasurer, and nine voices in the Star Chamber more, had condemned for a counterfeit in the behalf of Sir Richard Weston, my lord chief justice, my lord privy seal, and my lord keeper, defending it.

There are two messengers, gentlemen of worth, which came hither on Thursday was sennight from the King of Bohemia; the one his prime secretary, the other one, who was an agent here formerly four years together. They are defrayed at our king's charges, have ten dishes a meal allowed them, and, it is thought, shall be sent from his majesty hence to the emperor, perhaps about restitution of the Palatinate.

There died of the plague at London this last week 10; 9 in six out-parishes, and 1 within the walls. I hear there is, since the bill, five new houses shut up in the Strand.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 2, 1631.

Archie, whilst he was in Spain, got a pension from that king. And do you not think he was lapped in his mother's smock, if it be true, which himself told my author, that he hath now received the arrearages thereof, amounting to £1,500?

On Thursday was sennight, died Sir John Coupier, and left a rich widow that may dispend £4,100 per annum, whereof £2,500 in jointures by her former husband, Sir Charles Morison, and this, and £1,600 land of inheritance of her own.

There died of the plague this last week, thirteen; whereof ten in six out-parishes, and three in two parishes without the walls.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, April 6, 1631.

The Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Donne, is lately dead,¹ in whose place Dr. Winriff² hath succeeded.

The lords are not a little troubled about the daily reports that come unto them of the people's discontent-

¹ He died March 31, 1631.

² Thomas Winriff, made dean of Gloucester in 1624; advanced to the Bishopric of Lincoln in 1631. He died in 1654.

ments and stirring in divers places for the great dearth of corn, and are endeavouring to take some speedy order therein.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, April 14, 1631.

At this present I shall only inform you of the news that Mr. Montagu brought two days since from the court of France, concerning Monsieur, that he is gone from Besançon into Lorraine, and is now there with the duke, who hath given notice thereof to the king, and earnestly endeavoured by his letters to excuse himself therein towards him, professing that he had been surpris'd by Monsieur, and could not refuse to receive such a guest, that came to trust himself so confidently into his hands, preferring withal, that if his letters and messengers were not sufficient, he would come himself to give the king satisfaction therein. Monsieur hath but his ordinary train with him, having sent away at his coming into the Franche Comté, all the gentlemen and horse that were there, and came with him as far as Bellegarde, saving only the Dukes of Elbœuf, Bellegarde, and Rohannez, the Comte de Moret, and two or three persons more of quality, which are declared *criminels de lèse-majesté*, unless within a month they return and submit themselves unto the king, who at this present lieth at Fontainebleau, and the queen mother as yet at Compeigne, from whence she sheweth herself very unwilling to have her restraint removed to another place. Mr. Montagu reporteth also, that the Duke of Vendôme is raising 3000 men in France for the States' service, and that in Italy matters are drawing to a general and absolute accommodation, which yet few men will be easily brought to believe.

Sir Isaac Wake is now at length come to Paris, but with a very small train, because many of his family have been carried away by the sickness in Piedmont, which made him to come on, and to lie there privately for some days, till a new supply of servants, which is gone from hence to fill up his house, be come unto him.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, April 21, 1631.

Because Warwickshire is conterminous with Gloucestershire, I will not presume to tell you what hath been done by my Lord of Northamptonshire and Serjeant Dendy, at the Forest of Dean; but mine humble suit is, my noble patrons,¹ to you both, that you will agree whose servant of either of you shall write me the particularities of that business, and I assure him his letter shall never prejudice him, for I will burn it as soon as I have read it.

To proceed with our English affairs, a familiar friend of my lord privy seal,² tells me his lordship went lately down to his Castle of Kimbolton to take possession of Naybridge Park and the meadows thereto belonging, being granted by his majesty in fee farm to his lordship and his heirs for ever, in consideration of having relinquished his patent of justice in Eyre, on this side Trent, and yielded up that place to my Lord of Holland.

My noble Lord of Essex hath brought his new married lady³ to town, extreme sick, to recommend her to the skill of the doctors. The Lady Marquess of Winchester,⁴ daughter to the Lord Viscount Savage, had an impostume upon her cheek lanced; the humour fell down into her throat, and quickly despatched her, being big with child, whose death is lamented as well in respect of other her virtues, as that she was inclining to become a protestant.

On Monday, the sheriffs of London began to build scaffolds in Westminster Hall against Monday next, for trial of the Earl of Castlehaven, there being twenty-seven lords summoned by writ to be his judges (whereof all the lords of the privy council, except the Earls of Exeter and Bridgewater, are part), and my lord keeper to sit lord high steward for the day. His sentence, as I am told by an active justice of the peace, is like to undergo some difficult

¹ Sir Thomas Puckering and Sir Thomas Lucy.

² Henry, Earl of Manchester.

³ His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Pawlet, of Edington, in Wiltshire.

⁴ Jane, wife of John Powlet, Marquess of Winchester, by whom he had one son, Charles, afterwards Marquess of Winchester.

questions of law, who tells me also that my Lord of D. swore unto him they should never obtain his voice to condemn him, though he be one of those twenty-seven peers.

On Sunday night, the old Countess of Buckingham feasted both their majesties in her lodging at Whitehall; and on Monday night, my lord chamberlain¹ did the like at his lodgings at the Cockpit, after his extraordinary great winnings at a horse-race at Winchester.

The same morning my Lord of Salisbury took his journey to Hertford for regulating of the corn markets in that shire, and my Lord of Holland to Brentford for the same purpose. But my Lord Wimbledon being for the same end last week in Kingston market, he told it my Lord of C., who told it me again; "Corn," said he, "did rise there 18s. in the bushel that day, and I think it did so because we were there." His lordship's project and practice of drawing money from the alehouses is laid asleep. One Odour, a scrivener, in Holborn, that set him on work, was that man of my Lord Verulam,² who, by conveyance of bribes, was the occasion of his overthrow.

The meal-chandlers here in London, who were not only some of them clapped in Newgate, but all of them bound to buy up no more corn or meal within thirty-five miles of London, found a new trick to elude their bond; to wit, on a sudden they bought up all the corn and meal in these London markets, and so raised the price since Easter two shillings in the bushel, which fell so much the week before Easter.

Two houses at Greenwich were lately shut up as being suspected of the plague, and all the stuff in one of them burnt, and the people removed thence. But I heard yesterday, it proves but a suspicion, in which respect their majesties will remove the court thither the sooner.

Gerbier,³ the duke's painter, is to reside agent with the archduchess, and having been all his lifetime a papist, hath provided himself of a protestant chaplain. I hope the next they send to her shall be a barber, as Louis XI. of France sent his barber to a Duke of Burgundy, one of

¹ Philip, Earl of Pembroke.

² Bacon.

³ Sir Balthazar.

her predecessors. And now they say Mr. Thomas Carey, of the bedchamber, son to the Earl of Monmouth, shall go lieger ambassador into Spain.

Captain Weddall, he that was so much employed by the duke at the Isle of Rhé, being now come home general of these two East-India ships, the Charles and the Jonas, and being returned home this third voyage of his, extraordinary rich; the governor of the Company told me he had fulfilled the Jew's proverb, which they use in Barbary, "The first voyage for thee; the second for thee and me; and the third for me." But, defend himself as well as he can, they mean to call him to account. Touching at the isle of Madagascar, in their way homeward, they bought there at their first coming, an ox that would have been worth twenty marks in Smithfield, for eight great beads worth eightpence. But towards their departure the savages grew politic, and raised the price to ten beads an ox.

Yesterday, I heard of a prodigious thing which I am neither apt nor willing to believe, that one hath got a license to transport five ships' lading of fuller's earth (without which that people can make no cloth), into Holland, where their intent and purpose any time this twelvemonth hath been to make cloth of their own, that, if they could, they might banish ours out of the world.

I hear that my lord treasurer, by the solicitation of some servant of his, hath proffered a salary of £500 a-year among certain druggists and merchants to undertake for his majesty the business of tobacco, about which there have been divers meetings; but they dare not touch any of his lordship's salary, for fear lest it might shortly prove birdlime to them and their estates.

The last news out of Germany, written by Mr. Goodman and Mr. Elsington, his majesty's two last messengers to the King of Sweden, are, that after some of Tilly's people (for Tilly himself was not within two hundred miles of the place), with the loss of 2000 men, had won New Brandenburg, and left 600 men in garrison to keep the town, the King of Sweden, so soon as he heard of it, marched thitherward; the noise of whose coming made that new

garrison to value one pair of heels above two pair of hands : so they left only their sick and hurt people behind them, whom that brave king, instead of revenge, cherished and entertained into his service. We hear from other hands, that the evangelical princes assembled at Leipsic have sent to the emperor an instrument or manifest under the hands and seals of twenty-seven of them ; and that, having so done, they were all of them resolved to take arms.

Sir Robert Anstruther, at Hamburg, hearing that Mr. Goodwin, as he passed by sea from Lubeck towards Stralsund, was taken by a man-of-war of the emperor, wrote unto Tilly for his release, as being a servant of the King of Great Britain. Whereunto Tilly's answer was, he was sorry it was not true ; because, had it been so, he might have had an occasion to have shown how much he respected and honoured the King of Great Britain.

One strange accident I must recount unto you, that lately happened in Germany. One Mr. Fairfax writes from Francfort, to Sir Thomas Gore of Yorkshire, his kinsman, that eighteen Hollanders (whereof three had their hands in torturing our people to death at Amboyna, in the East Indies) lying one night in the same town as they were going towards Strasburg, being at supper in the midst of their cups and jollities, those three discoursed to the rest, how bravely they had triumphed over the English at Amboyna, and what justice they had done upon them, &c. This discourse of theirs came suddenly to the ears of two English captains of horse, serving under the Emperor, being then in town, who, next morning, with a troop of horse, met those Hollanders in a wood, and bid them prepare themselves, for they must die. The Hollanders said they hoped otherwise, for all the money they had was at their command. " We seek not your money," said they ; " you may throw that upon a dung-hill, if you please. It is your lives we must have, in revenge of the blood of a kinsman of ours, and other English which you tortured to death at Amboyna : and, if we had time, we would inflict all those tortures of fire, water, &c., upon you ; but, being scanted thereof, you shall die an easier death. You three shall be hanged first, for being

actors, and the residue after you, for being applauders and justifiers of that tragedy." After they had hanged up sixteen, they made the two surviving to cast the dice, which of them should escape to carry the news into Holland; whom they bid to tell his masters, the States, what justice two Englishmen had done upon those heinous malefactors, which they had suffered so many years to go unpunished.¹ Sir Thomas Gore and his letter have been examined by the lords of the council; and Sir Francis Barnham of Kent said to a friend of mine, that my Lord Treasurer had told him it was true.

Here hath been a speech, as if Bahia, also in Brazil, over and besides Fernambuel,² had been once more taken by the Hollanders; for extirpating of whom out of that main (if they can at least) that great fleet, which had been four months in preparing at Lisbon, (all which time our English merchant ships there to their great damage, that they might carry no news abroad, have stood embargoed) is now at length ready to set sail; and their rendezvous, from whence they are to begin their voyage, is Porto Port. This fleet, I heard an English merchant trading for Spain say, had not been ready this twelvemonth, if they had not by our nation been furnished with cordage, munition, and hands also.

Out of France, I hear, that Monsieur, having written a satirical letter to the king his brother, charging him with oppressing the people, discontenting the nobility, following ill counsels, &c., the king having published it in print, doth answer it only with marginal notes. Also, that Monsieur hath sent a petition to the parliament of Paris, that, whereas Armand du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu, hath procured from the parliament of Dijon an *arrêt*, or sentence, condemning him and his followers *comme criminels de lèse-majesté*, and accusing him and them to have gone voluntarily out of France to trouble the peace of that kingdom, he saith it is a mere slander; for, in consequence of his mother's disgrace and imprisonment, he was forced to fly for his own safety; and, had

¹ An instance of Lynch Law—by no means uncommon in these disturbed times.

² Pernambuco.

the cardinal once removed them two out of the way, there would then no obstacle be left between his malice and the king's destruction and ruin of the kingdom. He prays, therefore, the parliament of Paris, that they will confirm no such edict, but will take the entire consideration of the whole cause into their own judicature.

Here are now the Western merchants suitors at court, for redress of that confiscation that hath been put upon £40,000 worth of their kerseys at Rouen, about which, they say, the French king is content to have a treaty; for performance whereof Sir Isaac Wake is very opportunely come out of Piedmont to reside at Paris, in whose house, on Easter-day, did communicate not so few as an hundred of our nation, there being now a great number of English.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 4, 1631.

It is thought the Earl of Castlehaven's execution is put off till his servants, that are charged with the same crimes, be tried. Others say, that his son offers large money, and to take in his wife again, to have his life saved. He is said to be very penitent; but he will have no other confessor but a mass-priest.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

May 12, 1631.

That Sir Robert Cotton, that unparalleled antiquary and statesman,¹ was dead, on Friday last [May 6], who, in

¹ Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who was intimately acquainted with Sir Robert Cotton, observes, in his Life of himself, that Sir Robert was admirably skilled in the polity and government of the state and church of England. "Nay," adds he, "so full he was almost of all variety of knowledge of that kind, and his tongue being unable to utter his inward conceits and notions fast enough, it would often enforce him to a long stuttering when he endeavoured to speak exceeding fast. He was a most sound theoretical Protestant, and hath, in my hearing, most vehemently and learnedly opposed the Romish abominations, openly professing that he did not see how a Tridentine papist could possibly be saved: that is, a papist firmly holding all the base, cursed, and damnable decrees of the Council of Trent. This I the rather add, because too many did falsely report him to be a pontifical. I cannot deny but his practice and conversation was too contrary to that religion he approved in his judgment, having been for divers years together a miserable pursuer of his

the time of his sickness had sent for Mr. Holdsworth,¹ the divine, who had strictly confessed him, reconciled him to Almighty God, absolved him from his sins, and infused such comfort into his soul, as he would not want, as Sir Robert himself told Mr. Pory, to be the greatest monarch in the world. That the Bishop of Lincoln,² also, attended by the Bishop of St. David's,³ and Dr. Pierce, minister of the place, having been with him the greatest part of the night before he died, and having absolved him once more, said, at his departure from him, that he came thither to bring Sir Robert Cotton comfort, but that he carried away with him more comfort from him than he brought. That before he died, he had requested Sir Henry Spelman to signify to the lord privy seal, and to the rest of the lords of the council, that their so long detaining of his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of this his mortal malady; upon which message, the lord privy seal came to Sir Robert, when it was too late, to comfort him from the king; from whom the Earl of Dorset likewise came within half an hour after Sir Robert's death, to condole with Sir Thomas Cotton, his son, for his death, and to tell him, from his majesty, that, as he loved his father, so he would continue his love to him. That Sir Robert had entailed, as sure as law could make it, his library of books (which would appear in his heart, if it were ripped up, as Calais in Queen Mary's) upon his son, Sir Thomas Cotton, and his posterity; who, after he shall have performed his father's exequies (whose corpse was yesternight carried towards his ancient manor of Connington in Huntingdonshire), makes no doubt to obtain the same; but Mr. Pory, for his part, for all these court-holywaters, should awhile suspend his belief thereof.

lust; and even in his latter time, when his abilities decayed, he drank sack in which snakes were dissolved, being commonly called viper-wine, to restore nature. Yet God of his infinite goodness unto him sent him an heavy affliction before his decease, which, I am persuaded, gave him a full sight of his former sins, and was the happy occasion of his hearty and true repentance." By this affliction, Sir Symonds D'Ewes means the seizing of Sir Robert's library, and the prosecution of him.

¹ Richard Holdsworth, rector of St. Peter's Poor, in London, and in November, 1629, elected professor of divinity in Gresham College.

² Dr. Williams.

³ Dr. Theophilus Field.

That on Monday last, Sir Joscelyne Percy¹ was buried near his father, in the Tower, being dead the day before, between six and seven of the clock in the evening, of a furious calenture; the Earl of Leicester having closed up his eyes. That on Thursday last, the Lady Viscountess Wimbledon's corpse was carried over the bridge of London, with a train of twenty caroches, drawn with six horses apiece; and many more with four, and with torches *sans nombre*. That a warrant was come to the lieutenant of the Tower, for the execution of the Earl of Castlehaven, on Saturday next; who, as some of the Tower told Mr. Pory, should be beheaded betimes in the morning, before the opening of the gates. That Brodwell and Fitzpatrick, his con-criminals, are not yet tried; although some of the chief of the judges have said that they ought first to be tried, before their master suffer execution.

That Sir Giles Allington being now deprived of all shelter and protection of the Court of Common Pleas, was, on Thursday last, at Lambeth, bound to appear there this day, together with his wife, before the high commissioner, and to stand to their sentence and censure; to which purpose Mr. Dalton, brother-in-law to Sir Giles, by his marriage with his own niece, was also bound in £1000.

That Sir Robert Hitcham, ancient serjeant-at-law to the king, was on Friday last fined in the Star Chamber £200 for having caused to be read in the open sessions at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, near to both their dwellings, a paper of scandalous articles against an ordinary attorney of that county, whereof he had refused him a copy, requiring the same, or to prosecute against him upon the same, as he had then provoked him to do. This matter being let to sleep by the space of two years by the said Sir Robert, the said attorney had questioned him as a libeller, and had prevailed against him, as if a mouse should overturn an elephant. That yesterday, in the same court, Yeworth, a solicitor of Oxfordshire, and a famous common barrister, was censured in £1000 fine to the king, and £1000 damages to

¹Seventh son of Henry, 8th Earl of Northumberland, who having been sent to the Tower, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for being implicated in one of the plots in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, shot himself, June 21, 1585.

the Earl of Danby, for scandalous speeches uttered by him against the said earl. In the reading of the examinations taken in which cause, two odd things had been read before the lords: the one, that Yeworth, being told of two lords standing and talking together, said, then one of them is a fool; the other, that it being said unto him, that there were twenty-five privy counsellors, he answered, that if five of them were wise men, that was all.

That at the same time it was agreed that the order of the last term for the damning of the *Innotescimus* (which Sir Richard Weston and his friends laboured to overthrow) should with very little alteration be entered of record. Whereupon Mr. Attorney-General, in a kind of bravado, dared Mr. Pargiter, one of the defendants, or any other, to bring forth the deed under three seals, whereof the said *Innotescimus* was a copy: which deed the Earl of Salisbury having found among his evidences since the said order made, had showed the same to the lord treasurer, who seemed then to be well satisfied therewith.

That there is a commission under the great seal to some or to the whole body of the privy council to balance the jurisdictions of all the courts of justice, and to set limits from time to time to the power of every of them; a mean, whereby in time to draw appeals from all of them to the council board.

That two English ships lately come home from Lisbon relate that the fleet prepared there to beat the Hollanders out of Brazil (to prevent the discovery of the secrets whereof they had embargoed themselves and all others by the space of five months) dares not now go thither, because they hear that the Hollanders are too strong there for them; and that they have only sent thither eight ships stragglingly one after another, to put men by stealth into that country to hold the Hollanders in play. That the said ships do farther report that the Hollanders have taken once more in that country the Bahia de Stodos Santos, so as they are in a fair likelihood to become masters of all that country: and that their West India fleet had taken nine ships of the Spanish fleet of Terra-firma, laden with gold, cochineal, ginger, tobacco, hides, &c.

That on Friday last the Lord Vere embarked himself for Holland; which day was their bid-day of general fast in these countries, before the going forth of their army; to which being assembled at Shenks-sconce, their usual place of rendezvous, the Prince of Orange was on Monday last to go up to his guard. That the said prince had obtained from the States the grant of large reversions for his son, a child of four years of age, in case that he in this expedition shall come short home. That the report is that they will have in their army 12,000 horse, and so huge a proportion of foot answerable, as that they will dare to besiege Antwerp.

That he [Mr. Pory] had, from an authentical hand, a gentleman who came from Paris on Saturday last, that the King of France despairing of bringing the court of parliament of Paris to verify the Declaration of Dijon, (to give way to the better effecting whereof in his absence he had kept himself at Fontainebleau by the space of six weeks) came to Paris on Sunday was sennight about six of the clock in the evening, to try whether his presence would beget in them any better respect to his commands; giving out that he would make it his next morning's work to go in person to the parliament: but that therein the expectation of the people was frustrated, there being, instead thereof, in the afternoon of that day, a council held, whereof, to make the resolutions the more strong, billets were sent to all the great ones in town (among whom were divers who were never accustomed to be called to council) to summon them thereunto. That this council being thus assembled in the Louvre, it was propounded unto them to advise how the king should govern himself concerning Monsieur's his brother's request to the parliament, and the verifying of the Declaration of Dijon, the former of which they had received, and rejected the latter.

To which the Marshal Schomberg, out of his great affection to the cardinal, spake first to this effect:—That in regard that the said request did contain in it matter of main defamation against a person whose services had been and were so useful to his king and country, he thought that there could not a less reparation of honour be done

him, than that the said request should be publicly burned in the Grève by the hands of the hangman. To the same sense all those of the cardinal's party voted. That the first man who spoke to a contrary sense was the Marshal Créqui, who said, that he bare more respect to the name of Gaston, which he saw subscribed to the request, than to consent that such an indignity should be put upon him. Whose opinion most of those who voted, after him, followed; being glad of so good an example. Whereupon it was in fine resolved, that the king should with his own hand tear out of their register-books the said request and the deliberation of the parliament, commanding them in a body to wait on him that afternoon at the Louvre, and to bring their registers with them.

Accordingly, they being come to the number of about one hundred and twenty presidents and counsellors, besides their ushers and notaries, found the king sitting in a chair upon a scaffold raised about a foot high in the gallery of pictures, attended by the Count de Soissons, the Cardinal de Richelieu, the Garde des Sceaux, and divers other officers and counsellors, who at the approaching of the premier-president rose from his chair, and coming to the skirt of the scaffold spoke to them of the parliament, telling them that his Garde des Sceaux should signify unto them the cause of his sending for them. Who thereupon making a speech, declared to them therein how justly the king was offended with them for receiving Monsieur's request, and refusing to obey his majesty's command in verifying the Declaration of Dijon; concluding with a peremptory command, in the king's name, that they should from thenceforth forbear to meddle any more with matters of state farther than they should be occasioned by his majesty's commands. His speech being ended, the registers were called for, out of which the king tore with his own hand Monsieur's request and their deliberation concerning the Declaration of Dijon; and then, threatening them that if they did not for the time to come carry themselves more dutifully and obediently towards him, he would serve them as he had done to the Court des Aides, he dismissed them. Among whom it being observed, that the Presidents Gayon

and Barillon, and l'Aisé the counsellor, the men who had spoken the most in the parliament to these matters, were not; Boissoce, a captain, *exempt des gardes*, was at eight of the clock that evening sent to them to their houses, to signify unto them the king's pleasure and command, that they should no more exercise their charges; and that they should within twenty-four hours retire themselves from Paris, the first of them to Bourges in Berry, the second to Clermont in Auvergne, and the third to Limoges. Whereupon the court of parliament had assembled the next morning, but had deferred the taking of any resolution thereupon to another time.¹

Thus far Mr. Pory's authentical author related: besides all which he saith he hears other ways, that Monsieur remaineth still at Nancy, in the court of the Duke of Lorraine, where he hath had a very dangerous sickness, in which he was twice let blood, but is thereof recovered; and that Monsieur le Grand Duc de Bellegarde, having forsaken him, shall be suffered to resume his government of Burgundy after he shall have aired himself some six weeks in Italy.

That the articles of peace lately concluded at Chierasco, and sworn to by the emperor's ambassador Galas, the emperor hath disavowed; as the King of France had done those which, being concluded at Ratisbon, his ambassador Monsieur de Lionne had sworn to. But that it was said that the emperor, whom, Mr. Pory saith, the King of Sweden hath by this time sufficiently put in mind of mortality and of the lubricity of fortune, cometh fast on again.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 12, 1631.

Sir Isaac Wake, the new ambassador at Paris, after a month's expectation and waiting, hath had at length audience of the king; but of the cardinal he cannot get it unless he will yield him the precedency, which his instruc-

¹ There is a curious coincidence here, that is not likely to escape the reader's attention.

tions will not allow him to do. I am afraid matters will fall foul again ere it be long, between the two States; and the secret preparations which are making on both sides by sea increase the suspicion thereof. The king, of his own accord, hath bestowed the place of vice-admiral of the Narrow Seas upon Captain Pennington, which another made full account to have gotten, the same day.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, May 19, 1631.

You have ever such exact and full intelligence of foreign affairs, as but that I want other matter, it were altogether needless for me to give you but this brief of that little which I have learned; which is, that the allegations which Monsieur preferred against the cardinal in the parliament were so well approved of, that it was agreed upon to summon him to his answer. Whereof the king having notice, came to Paris, accompanied with the cardinal, and demanding of some of the chiefest of them what was done therein; and it being delivered unto him in writing, he grew so much enraged that he did tear it in pieces, and imprisoned two of them. Upon which, at their next assembly, they resolved to dissolve, and every man to depart to their own houses, without despatch of any other business. Which the king understanding, sent for them again, set the imprisoned at liberty, and commanded them to fall close to such businesses as they had in negotiation.

For home affairs, here is nothing to inform but the execution of the Earl of Castlehaven at Tower Hill, upon Saturday; who died very confidently, denied his guilt as to the facts for which he was to die, and professed to die in the true orthodox faith of the Church of England, renouncing all the superstitions and errors taught or believed in the Church of Rome, or any other church whatsoever.

The business betwixt the Lord Falkland and Sir Arthur Savage is now in agitation in the Star Chamber; and so far as the hearers can yet perceive, there appears to be

foul carriage on both sides ; and what the issue will be, this term will hardly determine.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 20, 1631.

On Thursday was sennight (as in the postscript of my last I partly informed you), Sir Giles Allington being stripped of all protection of the common law, was, by eight bishops and four of the other commissioners, fined to the king £12,000 ; bound in a bond of £20,000 never to cohabit or come in her private company more ; to be committed to prison, or to put in sufficient bail till both of them have undergone the censure of the court, which enjoins them to do penance both at Paul's Cross and at Great St. Mary's, in Cambridge. Besides his father-in-law and brother-in-law, Mr. Dalton was fined £2000 for having procured the licence, and hardly escaped the point of perjury. The eight bishops were—my Lord's Grace of Canterbury;¹ the Bishops of London,² of Winchester,³ of Norwich,⁴ of Coventry and Litchfield,⁵ of Bangor,⁶ of Rochester,⁷ and of Gloucester.⁸ It was the solemnest, the gravest, and severest censure that ever, they say, was made in that court. All the bishops made speeches, and all very good ones, many excellent and learned, wherein the Bishop of London bore the bell from them all, demonstrating the foulness and heinousness of the crime. After the doctors had pleaded *pro* and *con.*, the censure, according to the manner, began from the juniors of the civilians. The first fined Sir Giles but £1500, and Mr. Dalton £500 ; others, Sir Giles £2000 ; others of the civilians £10,000 ; others, £12,000 ; and that proportion, or thereabouts, kept the bishops, yet some went above it, viz., to £15,000. All agreed from the beginning in the £2000 bond for separation, and in the ecclesiastical censure of penance to be done at Paul's Cross and St. Mary's, in Cambridge, Dr. Wickham being asked here, by one of our fellows,

¹ Dr. Abbot.

⁴ Dr. White.

⁷ Dr. John Bowle.

² Dr. Laud.

⁵ Dr. Morton.

⁸ Dr. Goodman.

³ Dr. Neile.

⁶ Dr. David Dolben.

whether he thought the penance could not be commuted, he answered confidently it would not. After the sentence pronounced, the Bishop of Rochester asked Sir Giles, standing there with his mistress, "What he thought now of the heinousness of his offence?" Sir Giles mildly replied, "That now he believed it was a great and heinous one;" but said no more. That which I wrote in my last, out of a letter written whilst the court was yet sitting, that it was pleaded, on Sir Giles's behalf, that they had not yet known each other, I have heard no more of since: yet it is like the doctors whom he entertained invented something to say for their fee; as Sir Henry Martin, I hear, told them in refuting them, who is very much commended for an excellent speech, nothing inferior to himself in that kind. But I hear one thing more, that the Bishop of London especially showed himself a man of spirit and courage: for between the time of the tendering the two rules from the Common Pleas and the day of the censure, and that, as some say, at the council table, he spake in this manner: "If this prohibition," quoth he, "had taken place, I hope my Lord's Grace of Canterbury would have excommunicated throughout his province all the judges who should have had a hand therein. For mine own part, I will assure you, if he would not, I would have done it in my diocese, and myself in person denounced it both in Paul's Church and other churches of the same, against the authors of so enormous a scandal to our church and religion." I know not what you will think of it in the country, but we say here it was spoken like a bishop indeed.

On Thursday was sennight, likewise, Sir Archibald Douglas, husband to the Lady Davis the prophetess, (who was sister to the late Earl of Castlehaven) was committed by the lords of the council for having practised with the Earl of Castlehaven's servants in their several prisons, (who were witnesses against his lordship) to make them deny upon their trials what they had before confessed against him. Which was one reason more to hasten his execution, which was performed this day sennight in the morning, by the axe, upon Tower Hill. He spake but few words, and, as

I hear, to this effect: that God had given him honour, riches, and abilities, both of body and mind, and that he had abused them all. That he had deserved death many a time, and so it was just with God now to bring him to it, though he were not guilty of the two facts for which he was now condemned.

Then, saying he was faint, and not able to make any long speech, he pulled out of his pocket a written confession of his faith, whereunto he had subscribed his name, and caused his page to read it to the people. Dr. Wickham,¹ who was there with him on the scaffold, and told this and some other things unto one of our fellows this week at Cambridge, admonished him not to forget to give thanks unto his majesty for changing the kind of his death, and to acquit the justice of the State which had condemned him *secundum allegata et probata*. He replied, "It was true: "but I may tell you," quoth he, and leaned to his ear, "upon as weak evidence, as ever nobleman was condemned." He inquired what noblemen were there; and understanding my Lord of Warwick was there on horseback, he addressed himself towards him; thanked him for his honourable courtesy shown to him at his arraignment; desired him to render his humble thanks unto his majesty for affording him a trial by his peers, for giving him such respite to prepare himself to die, for changing the manner of his death; desired God to bless him, and that he and his might sit upon the throne of this kingdom as long as the sun and moon should endure.

This doctor, archdeacon, and residentiary of York, and his majesty's chaplain in ordinary, a very discreet, courteous, and every way qualified gentleman, together with the Dean of Paul's,² were his confessors and ghostly fathers. He told my friend, who asked him, and seemed desirous to know, what he thought of this denial of the earl's, thus much only, that when they refused to give him a while the Communion, because he persisted in his denial, and much urged him to confess his guilt, he thus encountered them:

¹ Henry Wickham, D.D., of King's College, Cambridge. He was son of William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, who died in June, 1595.

² Dr. Thomas Winniff.

“Gentlemen, you have been witnesses of my secret confession. I appeal therefore unto your own consciences, by that I have confessed unto you, whether you can in reason believe, that if I were guilty of these two facts, I would not confess them unto you also.” Which I understood to intimate, that he had been guilty of crimes of as high a nature as those, and it may be of the same kind, yet was falsely accused of these two facts. “Yet,” saith the doctor, “we went to the witnesses, and they still persist, notwithstanding, in their first tale.” His majesty, they say, shall get by his death nothing but a lease worth some £1,700 to be sold.¹

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 25, 1631.

The Marquis Hamilton, who was gone post into Scotland, is now come back with small furtherance, as I hear, of his intended journey, pretending that he could find but four hundreds of men there that would go over with him, because the most part of their best men are already in foreign employments. So as I hear, he doth intend to take up his men in England, if he can speed better here than he hath done in his own country, which is not very likely.

The king hath caused his navy to be newly furnished, and keepeth it in readiness; for what cause I know not; only I hear he hath had many jealousies given him of the designs of the cardinal, who taketh on very much that Canada is not restored.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, June 16, 1631.

Although his majesty went yesterday to Chatham, but not the queen, and was carried against the tide, in a barge with twelve oars, to Gravesend; yet some business, which

¹ This is the last letter extant from the Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, who died suddenly of an apoplexy at St. Edmond's Bury, on Monday evening, 13 June, 1631. Mr. Mead survived till October 1, 1638.

hath importuned me also this morning, so that I have very little time left me to write, would not permit me the happiness of seeing so glorious a sight, concerning which in my next I must report me to the reporters, who were eye-witnesses.

His majesty does well to look to his navy at this present, when as a Falmouth man, who in his bark went to discover what the French are doing at Brest, and Blavet in Bretagne, bringeth back news, as I was told yesterday, that he says there are fifty men-of-war, the least of 400, and some of 1000 tons and upwards. And yesterday it was observed unto me, by a worthy friend of Sir Thomas Lucy, that not only this town, but all other port towns that lie opposite to France, do at this time swarm with French.

Amongst other of the Lords, my Lord of Holland went along yesterday with his majesty, his friends, hoping he would be there pronounced lord admiral, the verity whereof I shall tell you in my next. Yesterday sennight, his lordship had an odd accident befel him in Theobald's Park. A bee stung him on the cheek; and not only that, but his neck, his shoulder, and his arm, swelled, and was very troublesome and grievous to him for four or five days, but by this time I hope it is cured.

Yesterday, I heard one say my Lord Treasurer would be declared lord admiral also, bringing this instance in probability thereof, that in King Henry VIII.'s days Thomas Duke of Norfolk was not only lord treasurer and lord admiral, but earl marshal also.

Le Chevalier de Jarre, whom I think I mentioned in my last, against his farewell had £3000 paid him out of the exchequer for parties which he had won of the king at tennis. My Lord of Bristol received £4000 also from thence, but in part of payment of a more serious and considerable debt. And his lordship, they say, is to go ambassador to the emperor. But to the King of Sweden and the Protestant princes of Germany, Sir Henry Vane was on Sunday last declared to go ambassador, which Sir Thomas Roe, who hath done so important services in those parts, taketh not well.

Now, as touching that brave king, if we may believe the reports of Antwerp, they say that the Duke of Saxe having abandoned the Protestant party, and declared himself of the Austriacal, the king is fain to retire back toward the Baltic Sea, Tilly giving him chase. But here is a Baron of Moravia, who lost all for serving the King of Bohemia, that reports quite otherwise; namely, that the Duke of Saxe stands firm to that Evangelical League; that he takes in high disdain that barbarous execution acted by Tilly at Magdeburg, as an ignominious affront done to him and his religion; and that he hath persuaded Breslaw, (called in Latin Vratislavia) the prime city of Silesia, which the emperor some five times hath attempted and missed of, to adhere to the King of Sweden and to him. Also that Colonel Bouditz, one of the same king's chief commanders, hath taken Truppa, a strong town upon the frontiers of Moravia, and the very key thereunto: and lastly, that all the Protestants in Bohemia, Lusatia, and Moravia, and Silesia, will adventure their lives with the king.

It is generally reported throughout the town that the Prince of Orange hath put his great army into garrison, *sans rien faire*, which an old soldier interpreted yesterday, that they had so billeted them in the towns upon the confines, as at any forty-eight hours' warning they could draw them to a head. It is said, besides, that the States are in examination of some, whom they suspect to have discovered their plans to the enemy.

But, to return home to ourselves: on Saturday, Fitzpatrick, one of the servants and accusers of the late Earl of Castlehaven, was arraigned in the King's Bench, and pleaded not guilty, as his fellow Bradway had the last term done; and complained, as he came down from the bar, that his life should now be called in question for having testified the truth: and Saturday come sennight is the day appointed, when both of them shall there come to their trial of life and death.

My Lord Fauconberg¹ and his son have at length made

¹ Sir Thomas Belasye, created Lord Fauconberg, May 25, 1627, and Viscount, January 31, 1642, for having distinguished himself in the service of the king against the parliament. He died in 1652.

their submission both to the king and my Lord Wentworth, not only verbal, but in writing, and under their hands; an act thereof being entered into the council-table books, both here and at York. Whereas, there are three thousand attorneys belonging to the Common Pleas, and one thousand would serve to do the business, the residue being but incendiaries and make-baits, it is said (whether earnest or to break a jest upon that kind of people) that two thousand of them shall be cashiered.

On Thursday last, my Lord of Salisbury, according to appointment, went to my lord treasurer's with his counsel and papers, to the end the matter informed against him into the Exchequer might be heard and determined. His lordship, having attended about half an hour in an outward room, and being then called in, he expostulated in plain terms with my lord treasurer, for making a person of his quality, being an earl, a privy counsellor, and a knight of the garter, so long to wait his lordship's leisure. But he, putting by that thrust as handsomely as he could, and pretending some greater business in hand, dismissed my Lord of Salisbury and his cause till Monday. But then, my Lord Treasurer being commissioner, joined with my Lord Keeper, my Lord of Arundel, my Lord of Carlisle, Earl Morton, and the Earl of Monteith, lord president of Scotland, about the examination of certain Scotsmen, was all day locked up; whereby my Lord of Salisbury's cause is put off *sine die*.

The Scots that were examined were, first, James Hay, Esq., of the body, and another of his name, about speaking certain words (as it is thought) concerning the Marquis Hamilton's expedition to Sweden. But they, bringing forth their author, one Mr. Meldrum, their countryman, were dismissed. Meldrum is now close prisoner with Justice Heywood in Westminster. And the Lord Mackey and the Lord Ochiltree are committed also to their lodgings. The same Mackey, a Western or Irish Scot, being the famous-est man of their nation in the late wars of the Kings of Denmark and Sweden in Germany, was, of all the Scots, most affected by the King of Sweden, and designed in his thoughts as the fittest man, without comparison, to have

conducted over his troops, which might have been raised out of the king's dominions; into which employment it hath pleased his majesty to constitute my Lord Marquis Hamilton. Elphinston was his agent with the King of Sweden, and Meldrum was the agent of Mackey. The marquis going into Scotland (whether by the practice of Mackey and his friends, or in respect of his great reputation) could raise but few men, namely, not above 1500. All these things are discoursed of; but what the point of the examination was, is not yet clearly known abroad. The next week, it may be, I shall be better able to tell you.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, June 29, 1631.

Here men are still musing to know the cause of the committing of the Scottish lords, the Lord of Ochiltree and the Lord of Rea, with some others of that nation, about which there have been so many, so close, and so serious sittings kept these eighteen days; whereof, although the mystery be not yet unfolded to the public knowledge, yet thus much I am made to apprehend thereof, that there was a plot made by some of them to cast my Lord Marquis Hamilton into suspicion of some mischievous design by him intended against his majesty's person and the prince; whereof his majesty, after a due examination of the business, hath openly justified the said lord at the council-board, and some others that were involved in the same accusation. And it is thought it will go hard with these false accusers, who are to be sent back into Scotland, there to be judged by the laws of their own country: and this is as much as I can yet understand of this mystical business.

Upon the beginning of this week, two of the late Earl of Castlehaven's men were condemned to death for being accessory to his foul actions.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 20, 1631.

My Lord Marquis of Hamilton did set sail from the Downs on Sunday last, with thirty-four ships, besides those that are set out of Scotland to meet him, with two thousand of that nation; so as his number is held to be at least eight thousand. The Scottish lords that accused him are still kept in prison here, the one in the fleet, and the other, to wit, the Lord Rea, in the Tower, together with David Ramsey, who is appointed to fight with him for the clearing of their difference. But the clergy having opposed themselves against that course of trial, it is doubted yet whether there shall be way given thereunto.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, September 8, 1631.

On Monday, the States' ambassador caused a letter publicly to be read in the Dutch church, and thereupon a general thanksgiving to be made for a glorious and memorable victory on Friday last, obtained by the Prince of Orange upon the Spaniards, who had some great design either upon Lillo, the Isles of Cazant, Fergoes, or Walcheren. They were 4000 soldiers, the flower of the army, colonels, captains, officers, *sans nombre*, that had put on all their *richesse* and bravery, with an intention to have won honour, while they befooled and lost themselves. They were embarked in fourscore great flat-bottomed boats, guided by 800 mariners, which came aground at a low water, whereby, I suppose, grew their disadvantage; for as yet we cannot know all the particulars. Besides, they had along with them 100 pieces of fair brass ordnance, that glistered like gold, and 700 great trees chained together, and armed at the ends with great iron pikes, as if they had been made purposely to stop up the mouths of rivers or harbours. There were three barrels of silver come also. Of the men, some were slain, and all the residue to the number of 3000 taken prisoners, with all their abovementioned luggage. Their unlucky general,

Count John de Nassau, not above a year also agoe ransomed from the States, attempting, together with the Prince of Barbançon, to escape in a small boat, was taken prisoner. About a fortnight agoe, when they were big with child of this project, which came to so abortive a birth, they had a gaudy procession at Antwerp, full of superstitious and heathenish gewgaws, whereat not only the archduchess, but the queen-mother also, was ; being indeed nothing else but a prologue to the ensuing tragedy. But they will have a braver procession at the Hague, wherein those proud Spaniards, with their adherents, must be led in triumph. The plain, plump Hollander proceeds in another method ; who, before any great undertaking, useth not the vain, ostentatious pomp of a procession, but celebrateth a bid-day, or a general fast, which publican-like humility (as it seems by the event) pleaseth God better than the others Pharisaical-glory : so that now they have no cause to sing a *Te Deum*, but rather to howl out a black *Sanctus*.

Here is other news come to town also, though not so ripe and certain as the former ; and that is, that the Count Stirium, governor of the Grill, in the midway between that and Wesel, met the Duke of Lerma, with his Spaniards and Italians lately come out of Italy, (there being about 8000 men on either side) and fought a battle with him, and slew some 5000 of his followers : for which, mine author saith farther, there hath been a thanksgiving in Holland. But, as touching this, I will suspend my belief until my next.

On Sunday, in the banqueting house at Whitehall, both their majesties gave very honourable reception to Johannes Albertus Racouski, treasurer of the Great Dukedom of Lithuania, and ambassador extraordinary from the King of Poland ; the lane through which he passed being built of pensioners on the king's side, and of the beauties of the court on the queen's. He was conducted in and out between the Earls of Arundel and Carlisle. From Sir Abraham Williams's, in the great palace of Westminster, where he lodgeth, he was attended to the court gate by trained bands of pike and shot, proper men,

well armed and apparelled, who, at his return out of the court gate, gave him two general volleys, and the like at his own gate. Some say his errand is to demand the eldest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia in marriage to Uladislaus, Prince of Poland, and to appear splendid in the court, he had made him at the Hague many curious and costly suits of apparel, to the value of £1500, not after the Polish, but altogether after our fashion, being the first ambassador of that country here that ever wore any other habit than that which is proper to his own nation. He had scarce paid for his brave clothes, but news came, the Queen of Poland, his mistress, was dead; so now he is constrained to cloud himself and his followers in mourning. Dead she is for certain; but whether in that manner before written is controverted, it being since found out that Mr. Gordon was not there in person, as he affirmed both to king and queen, to my Lord of Canterbury, and to an hundred more. This Racousky is a person of a comely presence and promising countenance, of great birth, riches, and learning, being able exactly to speak five or six languages. He comes at his own charge, and hath brought with him two great standard chestsfull of plate for his particular use, and at his return home he is to be rewarded with the office of a vaivod, or viceroy.

Here is arrived also the Abbate di Scaglia (he that hath had so many midnight meetings with the late duke), ambassador, they say, not from his own sovereign, the Duke of Savoy, but from the King of Spain. He is reputed a man of a working spirit, and indeed a true *boute-feu*, and, aiming now at a cardinal's hat, is now come to play his prizes, intending by his unwearied activity to make this court the scene of negotiation for all Christendom. But that disgrace so lately happened to his party in the Netherlands, will, I suppose, put water into his wine, and will a little curb the fierceness of his spirit. Besides, that the Spanish faction here cannot do all they desire, doth notably appear by a very late experiment.

A certain Hollander took a prize from a Spaniard worth £10,000. In our Admiralty Court the cause hath been long in trial. About a month ago, his majesty wrote to

Sir Henry Martin, the judge, that he should give sentence, after so long consideration of the cause, according as he thought just in his conscience, by the law of nations, the law of the admiralty, and having respect also unto his former treaties both with Spain and Holland. Some great ones of the Spanish faction, considering this letter left him at liberty to judge as he should think good, importuned him to stop the pronouncing of the sentence until they had spoken with his majesty, and obtained other manner of letters, which Sir Henry said, when he saw, he would consider of. They were at least ten days soliciting his majesty to revoke that letter, and to send Sir Henry another according to their mind, but found the king as unmoveable as a rock. So Sir Henry, seeing they came not again, gave sentence, about a fortnight ago, on the Hollander's side.

Yesterday, upon occasion of speech concerning Mr. Recorder's death (who, whether he be dead or alive, I cannot certainly tell), I heard said, his majesty from henceforth would [leave] the city to free choice of their recorder, and would suffer no courtier to intermeddle in the business.

Captain Pennington is returned from his attendance upon the Marquis;¹ and, it is said, he landed his men near Wolgast, in Pomerland, and lost but two of them in all the voyage. The French, at Rouen, have lately confiscated three score thousand pounds worth of our cloth. Do you think, then, they will be apt to pay Burlamachi the other moiety of the queen's portion, for which he is gone over, except it be out of our own? The late duke² made a senseless war upon them, wherein they got the better; and so now they will keep us under.

I heard merchants of great worth discourse the other day how the Susan and Helen (according to assurance made in this town), being bound out of Spain for this port of London with £50,000 for the King of Spain's account, a certain bark, by way of anticipation, coming aboard of him in the Downs, and bringing sufficient authority to discharge both ship and insurers, took out the treasure, and before she could get into the coast of Flanders, was snapt up by a Holland man-of-war.

¹ Of Hamilton.

² Buckingham.

I hear that the Duke of Guise is fled quite out of France, and gone to Rome; and that the occasion was this, he was about to levy some men within his government of Provence to have stood up for Monsieur. The cardinal being too nimble for him, went speedily to Lyons, assembled an army there, and sent it into Provence, under the conduct of the Marshal of Vitry; the very approach whereof made the duke to take to his heels.

There was lately within the court at Monceaux a great falling out and combat between the Dukes of Chevreuse and Montmorency. Some tell it thus: Madam de Monbazon, the flower of that court, giving Monsieur de Montmorency a scornful smile, he began to sing to her a new-invented ballad, wherein her honour seemed to be a little touched. She complains to Chevreuse, as her champion. He waylays Montmorency beneath in the court, they both draw, and Chevreuse is wounded. Another relateth it thus: Monsieur de Montmorency taking delight to hear a new ballad sung, wherein Madame de Chevreuse's copyhold was touched, her husband charged him, as if he had taken delight in his disgrace. The other denied it. He replied, "You do well to deny it, *car autrement je vous eusse bien estrillé.*" At which word of disgrace, Montmorency up with his fist, and gave him a great blow upon the face. They draw. The guards took Montmorency's part, as being the better beloved. The end was, they were both committed.

I hear the Duke of Savoy hath required the city of Geneva to render up their church livings, as the emperor hath done the cities and princes of Germany.

The town of Orange had awhile ago like to have been betrayed to the French, being, as it seems, an eyesore to the cardinal, because it is the only Protestant town in all France which is not yet dismantled. One Valkenburgh, whom not only this prince, but Prince Maurice also, had trusted with the government, some two years ago, held it most traitorously underhand from the French, whom some commissioners from the prince caught in a trap, and cut his throat. Now the Baron Dhona being placed by the prince governor there, a plot was infused into some French

of the same garrison to have served Dhona of the same sauce, either coming or going from church; whereof having notice, he hath kept the castle ever since, and not come down into the town. Now the French at the court, who are not so much to be trusted, as so many petty devils, do disavow it to the pit of hell.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, September 22, 1631.

On Sunday morning, came letters to the king out of Germany, signifying that the emperor, having promised the Duke of Saxony that neither he, his subjects, or territories, should be molested and meddled withal, so long as he remained neutral, Tilly, in violation of the same promise, first besieged Erfurt, a city under the duke's protection, and the greatest in all Germany, and wrung from them a great composition, and, not contented with that, invaded the duchy of Wirtemberg, the duke's own patrimony, and burnt and spoiled at his pleasure. Yea, he pierced farther into this country, and at last required him, in the emperor's name, to leave his neutrality, and to declare himself. Now, seeing he must needs, and that he was urged thereunto by outrage and perfidious dealing, he declared himself for the King of Sweden, and, as a sure pledge of his fidelity, delivered Wirtemberg into his hands, being the strongest town in all his dominions, where the scholars welcomed his majesty with orations and gratulatory speeches. He bade them be good followers of Luther, and pray for him, and he would fight for them.

It is said also in the same letter that the king hath recovered Magdeburg. I am told by others that Tilly sought to have surprised the duke's person, but missed of his mark; and that, going with intention to have besieged or surprised Leipsic, he was followed so close at the heels by the forces of the king and duke, as he was glad to lay aside that enterprise. As this duke hath declared himself for the king; so, they say, the Duke of Bavaria hath done the like for the emperor, who, by edict, hath prohibited all

his subjects to speak or write anything concerning the King of Sweden.

Archibald Rankin, a Scot, and a servant of that king, gave me a note entitled, "A list of the King of Spain's forces by sea, which are taken by the Prince of Orange, and of the prisoners likewise," ten great pontes, in every one of which fourscore men; fifty-eight great shallops, in each whereof were fourscore men; twenty frigates and flat-bottoms, full of people, victuals, and munition, whereon were mounted ten demi-cannon, twenty whole culverins, all of brass, and a hundred brass pieces besides, of a lesser bore, 300 murtherers, and about 5000 soldiers and 2000 mariners. Another note adds, eleven barrels of silver coin, 8000 granadoes, two barrels of halters, and a great quantity of knives, of above a foot long. The three principal commanders which escaped away in a boat, were Count John de Nassau, the governor of Breda, and Monsieur de Boye, admiral of the fleet. These following remained prisoners: the Prince of Louny, the Prince of Torsony, the Earl of Bossa, the Earl of Dornath, the Earl Niemeguen, the Count del Jour, two colonels, twenty-five captains, forty ensigns, and 4000 ordinary soldiers.

The Duke of Vendôme hath obtained leave of his excellency to send his two capuchins, which were prisoners, to Antwerp, which the prince condescended unto, and lent them his coach, with six horses, and they are gone either to the duke's mother or to the infanta; but there are kept prisoners one jesuit and three friars. Thus far Mr. Rankin's note; which how true it is, I cannot easily aver. For my Lord Chaworth, who was with his lady at the Spa, and came home lately by Brussels and Antwerp since that famous defeat, saith that there was but one man of quality taken prisoner, and that was a gentleman of Cambray which attended on Don Carlos de Colonna, while he was ambassador here. He saith besides they make nothing of this defeat there, nor are they much moved thereat. But by his ladyship's favour Mr. Boswell told me yesterday that the archduchess's subjects are forbidden upon pain of death to talk of that defeat. His lordship farther affirms that of those ten great pontes there escaped one, and of

the seventy flat-bottoms there escaped nine. He saith farther that the Prince of Pinelli, an Italian, before the setting out of this fleet, asked the archduchess whether she meant to present those boats and men to the Prince of Orange. She, smiling, asked him what he meant by that question. "I am in good earnest, madam," said he; "I asked your general, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, if he knew where the Prince of Orange was, and what he intended, and he told me he knew nothing at all; and therefore I concluded with myself your highness had better make a present of them than a sacrifice." His lordship saith farther that Williamstadt was the place they aimed at, and that Count John's covetousness precipitated the action; for, being the Prince of Orange's own town, he made account it would have fallen to his share. And if they had won it, then would they presently have beleaguered Bergen-op-Zoom, and striven to have been masters of all. But "God laughed them to scorn, and the Holy One of Israel had them in derision." His lordship saith, moreover, that the archduchess hath already sent the prince the ransoms of those men that have been taken prisoners: but his excellency will not as yet part with them; and therefore it is thought he hath some enterprise in hand.

Concerning the queen mother, his lordship saith she pleads only for justice against the cardinal for having imprisoned her; that she utterly disclaims to join or have anything to do with Monsieur, and hath reduced her expences to four score pounds a day; which is duly paid by the archduchess to her servants, as amounteth not fully to £30,000 a year.

On Sunday last the Polonian ambassador took his leave of both their majesties, and at his valediction there was one new precedent made at Denmark House, it being the first time that ever the pensioners waited with their axes in the privy chamber. Sir Henry Vane, also being to go ambassador to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, &c., did then and there take his leave also, and brought all his gentlemen, both voluntaries and domestics, to kiss the king's and queen's hands. Besides the two abovenamed, there were three others in the court at the same time, to wit,

the French ambassador, the Venetian, and the Abbate di Scaglia, being the Savoyan ambassador.

The King of Sweden, when he begins to march any whither, saith always this prayer, or to this effect:—"Oh, Lord, deal with me, and with this my people, as our hearts are inclined to relieve the oppressed."

Some, that write lately from Antwerp, do say in their letters that upon the late defeat there was great sadness and consternation among them. There is no such matter as the drowning of ten thousand Spaniards in the Isle of Princeland, hard by Williamstadt. True it is a gap was laid open, and the sluices were ready to play, but the Spaniards were not so foolish as to enter. The Count of Stirium met with the Italian regiments, slew six hundred of them, and took as many prisoners; and had utterly defeated and cut them to pieces had they not sheltered themselves under the ordnance of Guelders, and got into the town.

The King of Sweden before this time cannot choose but be master of Rostock, seeing that his forces took in Warmind, the chief fort thereto appertaining long since. The Marquis of Hamilton, within three or four days after his arrival at Wolgast, marched with all his troops towards the King of Sweden. Sir Thomas Conway and Lieutenant-Colonel Lesley do now beat up their drums to get more soldiers for the King of Sweden, who, they say, will not entertain a papist in his army; and therefore he refuseth Sir Pierce Crosby's Irish regiments.

Since the said defeat, a certain man in Ghent had his hand cut off, and was hanged and quartered, for having conspired with the Prince of Orange as touching that town; a poor revenge, God wot.

Dr. Brookes, master of Trinity College in Cambridge, died on Saturday; and I hear Dr. Lucy hath the reversion of this place. The lord chief baron,¹ I hear, shall be lord chief justice; Baron Weston, lord chief baron; Mr. Solicitor, baron; and Sir John Finch, solicitor.

¹ Sir Humphrey Davenport.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 26, 1631.

My Lord Richardson was promoted on Monday last to be lord chief justice of the King's Bench; whose place in the Common Pleas, Sir Robert Heath, the king's attorney, doth now possess, and Mr. Noy, the lawyer, is made the king's attorney, at whose choice for that place many men have wondered.

The King of Sweden having been contented to help the King of Bohemia with the allowance of £5000 by the month, which he was wont to have from the States, towards the making up of an army, the said King of Bohemia hath thereupon moved the king our master, and is a suitor to him by Sir Francis Nethersole's solicitation, that he may have the like assistance to the same end from his majesty. But, besides that we are very bare of money, the treaty that his majesty hath in hand with the emperor at Vienna, where Sir Robert Anstruther hath been a long time for the peaceable accommodating of that business of the Palatinate, doth hinder us as yet from taking any other course therein.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, October 27, 1631.

I hold it no satisfactory excuse to neglect my accustomed intelligence of the weekly occurrents here, although I conceive you have them much more exactly by others, and therefore do hereby acquaint you with the removal of my Lord Richardson to the King's Bench upon Monday, whither he went like a bear to a stake; and, being there, cried out a speech to this effect—that he hoped his majesty's favour would have gone so far along with him as to have let him have ended those few days he had to spend in the place he was now called from. But he found that in this world there was alteration of men's minds, healths, and places, and thought upon his conscience that the world was confident that he sought not for this place which his majesty had now conferred upon him for his honour, though some might take it for disfavour.

The same day Sir Robert Heath, in his speech to the lord keeper when he was made serjeant, said he thought himself happy in having had the fortune to have his majesty's favour, to follow his lordship successively in two places, and for the selfsame term of years, viz., his solicitor and attorneyships, in both which he had the happiness to have his majesty's ear, with a great deal of more favour than he could deserve by his service in either of those places. And therefore, for a token of his thankfulness, humbly desired his lordship to present his majesty with a ring set round with great diamonds, being worth £1000. Upon Tuesday he came in his serjeant's robes to the Common Pleas, and came not to the Hall by land, but by water, which is not usual; and this day or Saturday he is to take his place of lord chief justice.

The same day Mr. Noy takes upon him the place of his majesty's attorney, of whom there goes many merry tales; as, when the king told him he had resolved to make him attorney, he demanded of his majesty what wages he would allow him for the execution thereof, for that he was now well cliented; and when he was his majesty's sworn servant in that place, he held it very unfitting to dishonour his majesty or the place so much as to be called and run from bar to bar to gain fees from other clients. The lord keeper also having recommended a messenger unto him, the man addressing himself to attend him one day to the Hall, he looking back and checking the man for following him, the man, thinking he had been but in jest, followed him still; at which he grew very angry, and said the people would take him to be his prisoner, and so commanded him home.

It holds for certain yet that the Bishop of Winchester¹ shall be the Archbishop of York: but who shall be Bishops of Winchester or Ely will not be known in haste.

I have heard that a bishop should say unto the king, that it had been better the defeat had fallen upon the King of Sweden's side than upon Tilly's: but I will not affirm it to be true, or that it was the Bishop of London.² And

¹ Dr. Richard Neile.

² Dr. Laud.

our papists will not by any means believe that Tilly is dead, or that his defeat was so great as is reported.

It is said the Hollanders offer to put 12,000 men into the Palatinate, if so be our king will but allow £6000 a month towards their maintenance, which I doubt will not be; for that it is said that the king being in debt two millions, when the new treasurer came into his place, the said lord hath paid £160,000 thereof since, and that there is not now £4000 in the exchequer.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 2, 1631.

On Sunday last here arrived one Cassill, heretofore lieutenant to Captain Fleetwood, who was at the battle of Leipsic with the King of Swedeland, from whom he parted eight days after, having been near seven weeks upon the way; and brought a letter from him to his majesty, to give him notice, as to his good brother and friend, of the great and complete victory which God had given him against his enemies, and withal to represent unto him the fair opportunity which now was offered of restoring the King of Bohemia to his estate. His majesty was very exact and punctual in examining of the said Cassill upon all the circumstances and particulars of that great action; whereupon, after he had answered to his satisfaction, his majesty bestowed the honour of knighthood upon him; his relation being the surest, and in all likelihood the truest, of all the advertisements we have hitherto had of the contingents of that victory. From the which he varieth in divers things: for he reports, as I am informed, that the king had not above 15,000 men, to wit, 7000 foot, and 8000 horse of his own; and the Duke of Saxony some 18,000 in all; which together made but 33,000. Whereas Tilly had 42,000 in his army; who at the first onset had clean overthrown, as he reports it, the Duke of Saxony, and made himself master of his ordnance; so as there was only two or three regiments left of all his army, that made head to the enemy, all the rest and the duke himself being fled away, whom the king soon called back to the pursuit of

the victory: in acknowledgment of which great benefit he brought, as this man saith, presently after the same, three months' pay for the king's service, and to the king himself a present of four mules laden with gold: and all the loss that he reports to have been made between them at the battle is of 1200 men; whereas Tilly lost above 15,000, besides the prisoners and all the riches and provision of his camp, he himself being hurt in two or three places, but yet he could not hear that he was dead.

Neither do Sir Henry Vane's letters newly received, written from Leipsic in his way to the King of Sweden, import the same; but rather that he is recovered of his wounds, and gathering a new army, though many there are still that will lay wagers to the contrary. But the king having divided his army which is very strong, and now plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, into two parts, doth so waylay and stop all the passages, having made himself master of all the country of Franconia, as that it will be hard for them to join their forces together; which if they could bring to pass would make, no question, a very great army in those parts, besides the forces that the emperor hath yet in Silesia; for that the Infanta, as we hear, is now sending up 10,000 men, and the Duke of Lorraine a greater number, unto him, to join with his own forces and those of the Catholic league, which now must needs be much weakened and shaken by this great blow, and by the incursions which the king maketh now in the bishops' countries. In the mean time, the two good towns of Rostock and Wismar have yielded to the King of Sweden, and those forces, that blocked them up under the Duke of Mecklenburg's command, are now free to be employed any where else.

For the Duke of Saxony, we hear he is now with the Lord Marquis of Hamilton in Silesia. Of the Duke of Bavaria we can hear no certainty.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, November 9, 1631.

Upon Thursday last the Duke of Vendôme, illegitimate brother to the queen, arrived here from out of the Low

Countries, and is lodged at Sir Abraham Williams' house. Upon Friday morning, about four of the clock, the queen was (God be praised) safely delivered of a princess, who was christened the same morning by reason it was weak, (as some say) it being born three weeks before the time. But I have heard it was done to save charges and to prevent other christening. The name Mary: the Countesses of Carlisle and Denbigh godmothers, and the lord keeper godfather; and the nurse, one Mrs. Bennet, (some say wife to a baker) and daughter to Mrs. Browne that keepeth Somerset House.

Concerning the new sheriffs, Mr. John Temple was pricked for your shire;¹ but I now hear he is like to get off, the king being angry that the best men in the shires be not put into the bill, and that the sheriffs keep ordinaries.

The foreign news here this week is that the king of Sweden should have put a garrison into Frankfort: the Duke of Bavaria fled out of the Palatinate with all his goods into his own territories, whither the king intendeth to follow him, being 50,000 strong; and the papists say, that Tilly hath gathered together again between twenty and thirty thousand men.

This night the old Earl of Kellie's young lady was buried in St. Clement's church.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering.

London, November 17, 1631.

The last week growing acquainted with Sir John Cassill, he that was knighted by his majesty for bringing letters from the King of Sweden, I asked him whether he came by the way of Hamburg; and whether he met my lord ambassador, Sir Henry Vane, there? He said he did both, and that he was come thither before his lordship, and was the first man that related the King of Sweden's victory unto him. Which having done, he told me, his lordship grew very blank thereat, and retired himself with much sadness to his chamber. Whereat Sir John said, that he

¹ Warwickshire.

himself was much out of countenance, and asked some of his gentlemen whether their lord were not a papist, that showed so little affection to the good success of the Protestants. He saith, moreover, that he had heard his lordship's errand was to persuade that victorious king to a peace: which message, how unseasonable it would be, now that brave king hath the law in his own hands, you may easily judge; for by that rule of Tacitus, "*Arma tenenti qui justa negat, omnia dat,*" the emperor hath given him all; and he is in a fair way to his throne regal to add one imperial crown. But since the victory, I hear Sir Henry Vane hath received new instructions more suitable to the time and occasion.

On Sunday, one Mr. Hurst, secretary to Sir Robert Anstruther, brought letters from his master now resident at Vienna in the emperor's court; and he told a friend of mine that the first question the king asked him was, what was become of Tilly? Whereto he answered, that my lord ambassador his master had inquired of the emperor, of his counsellors and courtiers, and all others that were like to know any thing, and findeth that from the day of the battle to the day of Mr. Hurst's coming away, they had no certain news at Vienna, whether Tilly were dead or alive: and therefore in probability a man may conclude him to be dead, though not in certainty. On the contrary, the merchants of this town, both Dutch and English, that have any correspondence in Germany, though they wish as well to the King of Sweden as to their own hearts, are generally of opinion that Tilly yet liveth, because their letters, especially from Frankfort upon the Maine, do still mention Tilly and his army, which they say about the end of October was encamped at Assenburg, within three Dutch miles of that town, as if they had taken it *pro confesso* that he is living; and that, as the king is on the one side of the Rhine, so he is on the other. And yesternight a gentleman of very good intelligence told me, that whether Tilly be dead, or whether he be alive, all commands hitherto in that army go under his name: and it may be it is his nephew's that stands for a *stale*. He told me further that not only the emperor's, but the King of Spain's ambas-

sador was with the Duke of Saxe, to lay all the fault of Tilly's invading his country, and of his more than savage cruelty at Magdeburg, upon Tilly's own shoulders, and to put the duke in mind what good offices the House of Austria had to him and his predecessors in estating them first in that great and rich dukedom, and to proffer him satisfaction for all damages, &c. The duke denied not the good offices done to his family by the House of Austria, but affirmed withal he had done them as good offices in restoring to them at his own charge, and with the loss of his reputation, those revolted provinces of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia; and, likewise, that whereas of late he presented most humble petitions to his imperial majesty for redress of sore grievances, both he and they were rejected and despised; and not only that, but his country by the emperor's general overrun with fire and sword. And, therefore, if they would obtain any thing of him, they must first begin at the King of Sweden, who had redeemed him and his country out of the jaws of destruction. And he makes this accusation laid by both ambassadors against Tilly a probable argument of his death.

Mr. Hurst, as Sir Andrew Boyd told me from his mouth, saith farther, that the reason why Tilly's name yet stands may be this: he heard that one Piccolomini, an Italian, a general of Tilly's ordnance, being the man that first re-collected Tilly's scattered troops into a body, called it by the name of Tilly's army. He saith, moreover, that at Vienna they set a good face upon an ill game, telling the people it is but a flea-biting; and that they will (yes, marry, will they) quickly set the Swede packing. But he saith, if the emperor lose but one battle more, farewell, then, House of Austria.

And, for the restitution of the Palatinate, Sir Robert Anstruther's chaplain writes, the emperor gives none but dilatory answers, referring him to a future treaty to be made between his imperial majesty and the King of Spain; which for the King of Bohemia's profit may be concluded *ad Calendas Græcas*.

I was told, yesterday, that the archduchess had sent up into the Palatinate 15,000 men; which is an argument

the King of Spain means never to deliver his part up by treaty. But some Dutchmen tell me, there can be no such matter, because the Prince of Orange hath laid so many traps in their way; but that the King of Bohemia himself, if he be not already gone, is very shortly to march up with an army of 12,000 men.

Concerning the King of Sweden, one Mr. Perkins, son-in-law to Sir William Courteen, writes from Francfort by the last post that, coming before the Castle of Wurtzburg (in Latin, Herbipolis) the strongest fort in Franconia, he was driven, with the loss of many of his men, to take it by assault, putting all he found there armed to the sword, and saving all the rest. Here the bishop of that place, esteemed one of the richest princes in Germany, and most of the inhabitants thereabout, had hoarded up their treasure, which Mr. Perkins saith was so huge a mass, as it could amount to no less than one hundred tuns of gold, every tun being £10,000 sterling; in the total, ten hundred thousand pounds sterling.

There in Franconia, they say, being the garden of Germany, he purposeth to make his seat of residence, and his magazine for the wars, and therefore is now strongly fortifying of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, and hath sent for his queen to be brought to bed in Wurtzburg Castle, where, besides that mine of treasure, he found 100 pieces of brass ordnance (whereof 26 had the King of Bohemia's arms upon them) and as many lesser weapons as would arm 30,000 men, besides store of ammunition. Yea, the said Mr. Perkins (who, they say, is a discreet man) writeth farther, that the king hath already two third parts of Germany at his devotion.

The same king now lately sent Sir Thomas Roe a present of copper, worth £2500, whereof, when he heard news, he went presently to his majesty, and told him the King of Sweden had sent him a present. If his majesty's pleasure were he should receive it, he would; if not, he would send it back again. "God forbid, Sir Thomas," said the king, "that I should deprive you of it, having done so good and faithful service for us both." And indeed his majesty had reason to do no less; for I have

heard Sir Thomas Roe is £7000 behindhand for that his ambassage, having himself defrayed all the charge of his voyage. Therefore, I would have no friend of mine to become an ambassador. The king, in his letter to Sir Thomas Roe, acknowledgeth that, by his most secret counsels and conferences with him, he was excited and animated to this just and honourable war in Germany. And so the lords here say, that Sir Thomas needs none other epitaph. Besides, what an honour is it to King Charles, that had an ambassador who was a præ-consultor to so lofty an action.

The Landgrave of Hesse hath taken the city and territories of Paderborn in Westphalia, and puts them to contribution. I should have told you how the king met with Piccolomini's army above-mentioned, and cut off five regiments of them. Mr. Perkins saith he bends towards Bavaria. The deputies of the Spiritual Electors ran out of Francfort for fear of the king's approach, being within six Dutch miles of that town.

The Duke of Lorraine hath supplied the emperor with 6000 foot and 2000 horse. They say, the emperor is obtaining from his Holiness a bull of crusade against the King of Sweden, the benefit whereof is to be enjoyed in purgatory; whither the king, if they come in his way, is like to send them, as fast as a northern wind this autumn blows leaves off the trees. For he is already, in printed books, styled *Gustavus Magnus*.

Some talk here of a parliament, and others of the king's journey into Scotland; both which cannot stand together. My lady of Roxburgh is made governess to the princess. The emperor hath made his son general, and Wallenstein lieutenant-general of his army about Vienna, &c.

There are scaffolds and seats made up in the Painted Chamber, for a lord great constable shortly to sit there to give sentence upon the Lord Mackey and Mr. David Ramsey, what they are to do or suffer. Some say, my Lord Arundel shall be the man, and others my Lord of Lindsey; and that whosoever be must have an earl marshal there subordinate unto him.

Sir James Wingfield, whilom of Kimbolton Castle, in Huntingdonshire, was lately delivered out of Lincoln's Inn,

by the benchers, into the hands of justice, for having upon an arrest most cruelly wounded and mangled one Brooke, under-sheriff of Middlesex.¹

Yesterday, they rang for the queen's birthday, to-day for Queen Elizabeth's coronation, and on Saturday for King Charles's birthday, being now thirty-one years of age. An alderman told me my Lord of Suffolk² is dead.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, November 29, 1631.

I am this week to present you with the joyful news of the winning of Prague, by Count Thorne, who, upon his arrival in Bohemia, with some of the Duke of Saxony's and of the King of Sweden's forces, the country people flocked unto him; and he no sooner appeared before the city but it yielded without any blows. It is also said, that Tilly is certainly dead; and that he died at Cologne the first of this month, *stilo novo*. Frankfort is yielded up to the King of Sweden, by composition; and the emperor's forces lying between Bavaria and the Palatinate, the king fortifieth such townes as he hath already got in those parts, and for the present lieth still until some forces, which he expecteth, come unto him.

Upon Sunday, at the going to the chapel, the king took the lord chamberlain's white wand from him, and gave him, in lieu thereof, a silver mace, and made him lord high constable, for the trial of the difference betwixt Donald Mackay, Lord Rea, and Mr. David Ramsey. On Monday, the Marshal's Court was held in the Painted Chamber. The commission granted only unto the lord high constable and the earl marshal: and the lords assistants were the Lords of Pembroke, Dorset, Carlisle, Mulgrave, Morton, Mentieth, Falkland, Wimbledon, and Wentworth. The commission being read by Mr. Dethick, the king's proctor, the lord marshal (and not the high constable, which was much noted, he having the chiefest place) directed all, and made a short speech, wherein he showed first the king's

¹ A scion of the Wingfield family, descended from Sir Richard Wingfield, one of the ablest military commanders of his time, of Kimbolton Castle. This noble seat Sir James sold to Sir Henry, afterwards Baron Montagu.

² Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk, who did not die till June 3, 1640.

great care and watchfulness, that it might be a just, equal, and legal trial. Next, the legality and usefulness of this kind of trial upon the like occasions. And, lastly, the error which the multitude ran into, in conceiving that a marshal's court cannot be called, but of consequence a combat must be fought within one or two days; which was a thing neither so suddenly nor certainly to be concluded.

The lord marshal's speech ended, the Lord Rea and Mr. Ramsey were brought to the bar by two heralds, and placed in their places, which were the breadth of the court asunder. Which done, the king's advocate, Dr. Duck, made a relation of the whole proceedings of the business until this time; and of the legality in bringing it to this kind of trial, alleging it to be justifiable, both out of the writings of learned men, and also by precedents in this kingdom.

This done, the Lord Rea and Mr. Ramsey were called from the bar, and brought up to the bench, and so stood on either side of the court under the lords. The Lord Rea, being asked what he had to say against Mr. Ramsey, did present a petition he had formerly preferred to the king, which he desired might be read openly in court; which was performed by the king's proctor. The effect whereof was, that his accusation against Mr. Ramsey was not out of any malice, ostentation, or thirst of his blood: and, therefore, if the truth might appear, either by the trial of Mr. Myldred, whose examination had been taken in this business, or by another lawful way, he desired not this way: otherwise, he did not petition out of any fear of combating, which he would willingly perform; and did humbly pray his majesty's favour so far as to let him have the advice of his counsel in the way of his proceeding: which his majesty having granted him, he had engrossed his accusation in parchment, and so delivered it unto the king's proctor to read. The effect being that, having met and conferred several times with Mr. Ramsey, in Sweden, Germany, and the Low Countries, Mr. Ramsey had not only sought to draw him into actions of treason, but also spoken disloyally of the government of this kingdom; viz., that the realm was so governed that it was not

for an honest man to live in it ; which caused him to live out of it. Whereunto he answering, " God amend it ! " Mr. Ramsey replied, " We must help God to amend it ; " and that my Lord Marquis would come over with some troops, ere it were long, and then some course might be taken for the redress of such things as were amiss ; and, in the mean time, he was so furnished with money that he could spend £5 or £6 a day. All which he was ready to make good with his life ; and, for a pledge, threw down his glove into the court.

Upon which, Mr. Ramsey being demanded what he could say in defence of this accusation, he entered into a discourse how improbable it was that he should carry himself so disloyally. Unto which the lord marshal said, " Mr. Ramsey, I am loth to interrupt any gentleman speaking in his own defence, yet must advise him either to speak punctually to the points of his accusation ; or otherwise petition the king that he might have the advice of counsel to draw his answer thereunto. " To which he replied, " that all that he could say was, that all that the Lord Rea had objected against him was false, and he would justify the same with his life ; " and so threw down his glove as his pledge for performance thereof. Whereupon the lord marshal advised Mr. Ramsey not to disadvantage his cause by so general a denial, for that he could not but confess that they had met and conferred together ; and therefore said he would not compel any man to take counsel, but he could wish he would suffer his answer to be drawn and put in writing by his counsel, to every point of his accusation. The which he yielding unto, the court ordered, that the Lord Rea should put in sureties to prosecute his accusation ; and Mr. Ramsey to put in sureties to put in his answer and defence by a day to be limited. Whereupon Sir Walter Crosby, Sir Pierce Crosby, and two more Scotsmen were bound body for body for the Lord Rea ; and the Lord Roxburgh and another Scots lord, body for body for Mr. Ramsey ; as also that they should keep the peace in the mean time, especially each to the other. And so the court adjourned until Friday next.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering.

London, December 1, 1631.

I hear, my Lord Craven¹ made proffer to the king to levy, at his own charge, for the service of the King of Bohemia 3000 [men], and give them coats of arms, and allow them victuals, until they be delivered up in Holland. Whereto his majesty's answer was that he could not resolve any thing in the business, until he had heard from Sir Henry Vane his ambassador, who is now with the King of Sweden. It is reported about the town (how truly I know not) that all the English have forsaken the Marquis Hamilton, because he would force them, contrary to nature in a manner, both to beat and march the Scottish march. I should have told you before, if I had remembered so much, that my Lord Craven is upon his departure, if not already departed for the Low Countries.

Whereas, on Tuesday was fortnight, the Earl of Middlesex being called in question, in the Exchequer chamber, about an account of fourscore thousand pounds, desired that he might have the objections urged against him, to consider of, and that his cause might have a private hearing. On Tuesday was sennight my lord keeper in the same place delivered that his majesty's pleasure was, that cause should come to a public and legal trial, to the end that if his majesty did abate the earl any thing, or favoured him in aught, it might appear to issue out of his mere grace and bounty. And on Saturday, the barons, in open court, by having discovered some error, reversed the judgment entered in that court in confirmation of his pardon, and so have frustrated it, and laid him open to the law: and some say, if he escape for £10,000, he makes a good day's work of it.

The same day, also, those barons adjudged to my Lord of Carlisle nine houses in Wapping under a title of concealment called *par presture*, that is to say, encroachment upon the King's Waste, as if they had won the ground their houses stand upon out of the river of Thames, which

¹ William Baron Craven, of Hamsted-Marshall, Berks; subsequently created an earl.

belongeth to none but his majesty. His lordship, as I take it, hath followed this suit these ten years, and sueth for above sixscore houses more; and it is thought the condemnation of those nine will make all the rest come in and compound, which, standing upon one level with the nine, will at last be found to be in the same predicament. And, for that purpose, Mr. Attorney is commanded to make diligent inquiry whether there be any *par prestures* in that place, or no?

On Friday, at noon, came the first news of the taking of Prague, the chief city of Bohemia, from the emperor by Count Thorne, from Calais; and the same night was thoroughly and indisputably confirmed by the post of Antwerp, who brought letters in his budget testifying the same, not only from Frankfort, Nuremberg, &c., but also from Prague itself. And it is not only confessed by our papists, but even by the Spanish resident himself, and by Signor Almerigo the Florentine agent, who is as much addicted to the cause of Austria as any Spaniard. My lord treasurer likewise had letters to the same effect; so that it is as clear and manifest as the sun in the meridian. The manner was this:—Count Thorne, the first peer (as I understood him) in that kingdom, and the chief worker of the King of Bohemia to that crown, and he that caused the emperor's commissioners to be fenestrated or cast out of the windows of the Castle of Prague, and that ever since the loss of that city to the emperor had lived in exile, stripped of all his goods, lands, and possessions; this Count Thorne, I say, having with five hundred fore-running horse attempted the minds of the people, and proffering liberty to those whom the emperor had kept in slavery, all the country showed themselves most ready to revolt, and at the presence of the count did actually so. He had (so far as I can conjecture) six thousand men of the King of Sweden, which, upon the probability or rather certainty of a general revolt, were strengthened with some troops of the Duke of Saxony. He sent word beforehand to Prague, that whosoever would depart with bag and baggage, might; and so accordingly many did. When he approached near the town, Don Baltazar, a Spanish

governor thereof, and Wallenstein Duke of Friedland, fell a persuading the people and soldiers to help them to make resistance; but they found their devotions so cold both towards them and their master the emperor, as, pretending to go parley with Count Thorne, they rode out of the gate, and there turned their bridles, and made all the haste they could towards Budweitz, the strongest town of all Bohemia upon the frontiers of Austria. The count being entered the city, pillaged the Jesuits and the Jews, and none else. And that he might give his enemies no rest, having added, to his Swede and Saxon, Bohemian forces also, he marched forthwith towards Budweitz; which those that write out of Germany say, he will not be long in taking in. And for aught that I know, those of Austria may be as ready to revolt as their neighbours of Bohemia, being no less oppressed.

They write from Nuremberg, that the emperor's army, and that an huge one of between 50,000 and 60,000 men, was, when the letter was written, viz., November 8, old style, in the marquisate of Anspach, some ten miles from thence, at a place called Rottemberg. They demanded of Nuremberg provision for 3000 horse, or else threatened they would burn all the villages round about that town. But the Nurembergers gave them the negative, saying they were already engaged to the King of Sweden, to whom they had lately sent 50,000 rix-dollars. The same man (who is a weekly writer to his correspondent here) saith farther, that both Ulm and Strasburg have declared themselves for the king, and do levy as many men for him as briskly they can.

Now it is confessed by all men, that Tilly died the 23rd of October; and so we shall no more be haunted with his ghost.

The Duke of Ferria, governor of Milan, having taken from the Venetians, that held it *in deposito*, the Valtoline, hath urged the French king to send an army into Italy, either to hinder or divert his proceedings; and the Duke of Savoy is now altogether French.

The last news I have heard is, that the people of Messina in Sicily having slain some of the custom-house for

setting afoot some new imposition, the governor coming down out of the castle to do justice upon the malefactors, the townsmen made head against him, and drove him back with the slaughter of 500 of his Spanish soldiers. The like tumult upon the same occasion was lately in Biscay, whither the King of Spain having sent an alcalde or judge to do justice upon the mutineers, they made no more ado but knocked him on the head. Then the king sent word he would visit them with an army of 30,000 men. They answered, he should then meet with an army of 30,000 men.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 14, 1631.

I will tell you the freshest news first, and for the other, *valeant ut valere possint*. I was told yesternight by a very good hand that the Lord Ochiltree (he that accused the Marquis of Hamilton, and the prime of the kindred in Scotland, of treason in the most transcendent degree), was lately beheaded in Edinburgh. When he came to be arraigned before the commissioners, he was assigned two advocates to plead for him, Nicholls and Hudson, who, being called to the bar, besought their lordships that were commissioners to excuse them, for they were ashamed to open their mouths for so guilty a person, or in so foul a cause. And David Ramsey is like to speed little better here; for yesterday, at the Lord High Constable's Court, after Dr. Eden, his counsel, had pleaded for him the best he could, it was ordered that Mackay should, on Monday, produce testimonies against him for the proof of three things: 1, of certain exhibits or letters, whereby it will plainly appear that he had written as much as Mackay charged him to have spoken; 2, that being sent to the Prince of Orange and the States from the Marquis of Hamilton, he demanded the audience and reception of an ambassador, as if he had been sent from a king; 3, that since their confinement of the one to Richmond and of the other to Greenwich, Ramsey, contrary to all orders, sent Mackay a private challenge; which very case, in Richard

II.'s time, cost one man's life, as making him guilty of his adversary's accusation. Besides, Mackay is approved for his modesty and grave temper, not only by the Lords but by the spectators; and the other as much censured for his impatience and intemperate behaviour. And for the clearing of somewhat in this business, Sir Thomas Roe, being newly gone down into Northamptonshire, is sent for in all post haste.

The post of Antwerp, which should, according to custom, have been here on Friday, came not till yesterday; and, as himself, so his news came far short of our expectation; for we here dreamed, and it was said to be written out of Holland and other places, that the King of Sweden had taken not only Mentz but Coblantz, Bonn, and Cologne also: and that he meant not to stop till he came as far as Wesel and Burick, that he might make his dominion contiguous to the territories of the States. But we hear now, it is far otherwise, because these letters report he hath not so much as taken Mentz, nor sat down before it; for going from Frankfort towards the north side of the Rhine, and Mentz standing on the south side, and the river being there very broad, when he attempted to make a bridge to pass over his army, he was (some say twice, others thrice) repulsed by the enemy. And why should any general at all times expect desired success. True virtue is redoubled by opposition, as in philosophy, heat by antiperistases of cold. *Si hâc non succedat, aliâ ineundum est viâ.*

Some say here, that the French king is gone to conquer Lorraine, not only because he hath harboured Monsieur, his brother, but also for that he is gone in person, with the greatest forces he can make, to aid the emperor. In case it prove true, it will make a brave diversion of Spaniards and Imperialists from Mentz and out of the Palatinate, for the King of Sweden's advantage, and they say there are 5000 men in garrison at Mentz, whereof 2000 are Spaniards.

By one and the same courier, two reasons were given for probability of a parliament, as, namely, that the French king will not pay the other half of the queen's portion,

until her jointure be confirmed by Act of Parliament; and, secondly, because Sir John Eliot and Mr. Selden have lately been courted and caressed by some great men, who are most in danger to be called in question. And two reasons also for the queen's mother coming over: first, in that the king, her son, hath given her notice, that if she will live in any place out of the King of Spain's dominions, she shall have her whole revenues (being not so little as £100,000 a-year) paid her. Otherwise, not a groat. And secondly, because the Duke of Vendôme, who cannot abide her, because she was author of his seven years' imprisonment, is making haste to be gone out of England, albeit he intended to stay all winter, until he heard the news of her coming.

Sir Robert Honeywood, agent for the King of Bohemia, hath been very earnest in persuading his majesty to a present contribution towards the recovery of the Palatinate, saying, that the most direct and honourable way is by the sword, especially in this present conjuncture, when the King of Sweden is so victorious near the place. That the Emperor and King of Spain have for two years together delayed and deluded his majesty by treaty, and will do so to the [end,] as intending never to part with that by way of treaty, which they have gained by the sword. And suppose it should be rendered back by treaty, yet that would not be done by those two haughty princes, without imposing some base submissions and some unworthy conditions upon the King of Bohemia and his posterity. The final resolution was, that letters should be sent both to the king and the emperor by one and the same messenger (which cannot perform the journey in less than two months); and if their answers be either negative or dilatory, then must a second war break out against Spain, and a parliament be summoned for recovery of the Palatinate.

Sir Henry Vane had his audience of the King of Sweden at Wurtzburg, the 6th of November, and is now returned back down the Meise and the Rhine, and it is thought he will be here again by Christmas. He sent his letters by one Gifford, a Jesuited fellow, who detracts from the King

of Sweden as much as he can ; yet hath brought a letter from him to our king, assuring his majesty he will take order that the custom of our merchants' goods at Dantzic and Elbing shall be brought down from 14 in the hundred to the old rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cento. The Queen of Spain is come to Erfurt, the greatest city in Germany, and in the heart thereof, guarded from Stetin, in Pomerland, only with four troops of horse, and passing as quietly as if she had been in Sweden. The cities through which she passed did stamp upon great medals or coins of gold her king's picture and hers, in honour of them both, which were no less than high treason to the emperor, if he were able to revenge it ; but now, on the contrary, even in Imperial towns themselves, it is accounted treason to have intelligence with the emperor, as lately in Bremen, where some of the citizens were clapt in prison by the magistrates for the same cause.

Wismar is now taken for certain, and the Marquis of Hamilton and Duke of Mecklenburg said to be joined with the King of Sweden.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 14, 1631.

The King of Sweden had no farther intent, at his first landing in Germany, than to settle himself upon some river, and therefore to fortify himself, chiefly, if he could, upon the Elbe ; and then, without any farther proceeding at that time in Germany, to fall upon the emperor's countries of Silesia, Bohemia, and the rest. But his great victory against Tilly, having carried him beyond the scope of his design, he hath left the execution thereof upon those countries to his lieutenants, and himself hath prosecuted the game against the bishops and the body of their league, which was the chief strength of that party, professing his only end to be to restore the true religion and public liberty in Germany, which the emperor, with the help of the said league, had almost suppressed.

Concerning the confederate princes of Leipsic, it is true that hitherto the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of

Hesse have showed themselves almost the only actors. But although the Elector of Brandenburg do not war himself in person, yet he doth contribute both his men, towns, and money to the war; and both the Duke of Weimar and the Duke of Mecklenburg have put themselves in the field. But the Administrator of Wirtemberg, either out of fear, being threatened by the emperor's forces, or rather out of a bad affection, took a clean contrary course, betook himself to the emperor's party, and delivered into his hands his two nephews, the young Duke of Wirtemberg and his brother, so as now he is held for no other than an enemy.

The other princes of the Confederacy, being able to do little of themselves, are not much spoken of: only we hear that the Duke George of Lunenburg is levying good troops for the King of Swedeland, and that the circle of the Lower Saxony have now declared themselves for him; and are likewise preparing a little army for the common defence.

The Landgrave of Darmstadt, who had always held strongly for the emperor's side, and had been much supported by him against the Landgrave of Cassel, hath now yielded to the victorious fortune, and put himself and his country into the said king's hand. Of whose proceedings, since my last, we have not had any certain advertisements, nor of any farther action in those parts. Only there is a report that the Count John de Nassau is come back with his army into Flanders, and hath left his cannon behind him, not being able, by reason of the foul ways, to bring it along with him. And on the other side it is reported that the States are preparing a hundred companies of foot and thirty companies of horse to go up to the Palatinate; but under whose command I do not yet understand.

At the town of Anspach, where the Electors of Brandenburg use to be buried, I hear the imperialists have been so barbarous as to break open their graves, and scattered their bones abroad. Whereupon the Swedish cried out against them that they did use their cowardly revenge against the dead, because they durst not look the living in the face.

The King of Sweden is made and acknowledged by all the Confederates for the director of the war in Germany.

The two Scottish men's business, which, from Friday last, after the hearing of the Lord Rea's reply, had been put off to this day, to hear Mr. Ramsey's rejoinder, hath been now put off again to Monday next, for the hearing of the proofs.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 21, 1631.

By a courier come from Sir Henry Vane since the writing of my last, by him despatched from Frankfort the $\frac{13}{3}$ of this month, we understand that the King of Swedeland being solicited by those of Nuremberg for relief against the emperor's army, which had besieged them, he turned back from the Rhine with his army that way. But, as soon as the Imperialists heard of his coming, they raised their siege, and withdrew themselves from thence. Whereupon those of the town, being gone forth in the pursuit of them, killed and took a good number of them, and amongst the rest the Count of Anhalt, a man of good account on the enemy's side, who is now prisoner in the said town. Whereby the Imperialists have now betrayed their weakness, and the said king confirmed the reputation of his strength, and his credit with his allies, having shown himself able and ready to assist them. Which being done, he came back presently towards the Rhine, whereon he had set up a bridge at this courier's coming away from those parts, and was that day gone before the town of Oppenheim to besiege it. He reports that there are ten thousand Spaniards in the Palatinate, and that he met with fifteen hundred horse besides about Namur, going up thither out of Flanders. He doth believe Tilly to be alive, but reporteth him (as some others had done before) to be so weakened in his brains, as that he is no better than a dead man; and is confident that Pappenheim is the man that commandeth now the emperor's army.

Here is at present a gentleman newly come from the

queen mother, who, as I understand, doth not now so much press her coming over as she did before.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 28, 1631.

After the King of Sweden had passed on this side of the Rhine, by means of a bridge which he made with boats taken from those of Wormes, he went and besieged the town of Oppenheim, wherein were 3000 Spaniards for the defence of the same, whom he put to the sword, having taken the town by assault; and then took by composition the cities of Mentz and Wormes, and the towns of Creutnach, Stein, and others, in the Palatinate, wherein there are not any able to make him resistance, saving only the town of Frankendale; so as by the virtue of that brave king, that poor country is in a fair way of its deliverance from the claws of the Spanish and Popish tyranny. And though it came not directly from them into the right owners' hands, yet I am persuaded there is so good an intelligence between the recoverer and his majesty for them, as that, with the performance of some conditions which he hath demanded of us, he will be friendly, and restore it into their possession. To which end I understand that his majesty hath resolved to assist him with £100,000.

On the other side we have these and other good and admirable tidings out of Bohemia, that the emperor's army, lately driven from Nuremberg, being entered into that kingdom for the defence of the same against the new conqueror's, hath been utterly overthrown and defeated in set battle by the old Count of Thorne, with a very great slaughter, namely, of the General Tiffenbach and divers others of the chief commanders of the said army. Whereupon, it is reported that the whole country of Moravia is come into the victorious hands; and that in Bohemia there is only the town of Budweitz remaining for the emperor, who upon this new misfortune is said to have withdrawn himself from Vienna to Gratz. These great news we had this day at court, to cheer up our Christmas with, which the king hath particularly expressed upon this occa-

sion. The Duke of Vendôme is departed this day to go back into France.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 12, 1631-2.

This other day, Sir John Eliot's attorney-at-law told me he had been with him long since his removal into his new lodging, and found him the same cheerful, healthful, undaunted man that ever he was.

My Lord Rutland, as I am told by an intimate courtier, goes to church, and therefore needs pay no more for recusancy. Mr. Giffard, (he that brought letters from Sir Henry Vane, and did pocket up the lie given him by Sir John Cassell before many in the queen's privy-chamber) before his return back again, was sworn gentleman of the privy-chamber extraordinary, whereat some repining, my Lord of Arundel, his noble patron, to hit their envy in the eye, caused one of his sons to be sworn after him to the like place. Some say Giffard received a double inconveniency thereby; first, in that being a fellow extremely Jesuited, he was fain to take the oath of supremacy, whereupon, some that were by do say that he stared and looked wild, as if he had been distracted: secondly, by this honour laid upon him his mouth was stopped from asking any other recompense either for his pains or charges.

Mr. William Boswell, a clerk of the council extraordinary, who was joined in commission with my Lord of Carlisle when he was in Italy as secretary for the ambassage, and one of the ablest and honestest men of our nation, is designed by his majesty to be resident in the Hague in place of Sir Dudley Carleton, nephew to my Lord of Dorchester. The lord high constable's court for trial of Mackay and Ramsey was adjourned from Monday till to-day; where what the event will be I cannot relate unto you till my next.

The last Sunday night the king's masque was acted in the Banqueting House, the queen's being suspended till another time by reason of a soreness which fell into her delicate eyes. The inventor or poet of this masque was Mr.

Aurelian Townshend, sometimes towards the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, Ben Jonson being for this time discarded, by reason of the predominant power of his antagonist, Inigo Jones, who this time twelvemonth was angry with him for putting his own name before his in the title-page, which Ben Jonson made the subject of a bitter satire or two against Inigo.¹

Now, to satisfy you what I can touching foreign affairs, I am told at court that the King of Sweden shall be paid the other moiety of the queen's portion; the French king being willing rather to pay it to him than to us. And whereas some papists absurdly give out that the French king hath sent a defiance for having meddled with the spiritual electors, the case is quite contrary; for he hath answered the ambassadors of those electors that, if they will declare themselves against the house of Austria, he will then mediate for them to the King of Sweden: otherwise he will leave them to stand upon their own bottoms. And they say the French king—though not yet in print, yet in words to those ambassadors and agents that are about him, and in deeds to all the world—hath now professed enmity more than ever against the house of Austria: the main reason whereof is because he knows well enough that if he had not called that victorious king into Germany, the Austrians had poured some four armies into France at one clap. And now, it seems, the choler of those two nations or families is grown so settled and so inveterate one against the other, as the flame thereof will not be quenched but with the ruin of the one side. And what hath been the Duke of Bavaria's reward for having cast away ten thousand of his subjects in the emperor's service? Marry, he hath been fain upon his knees to present a blank paper to the French king for his most christian majesty to write thereupon what laws and conditions he pleaseth to impose upon him. So the king hath received him into his protection; but, for more surety's sake, now

¹ Ben wrote many things about this period *pro* and *con.*, for he was equally skilled in satire and eulogy. In the present instance, he overwhelmed the unhappy architect with a torrent of hard names from the storehouse of his reading. See his "Expostulation," which was followed by an epigram, and what he chose to style "A Corollary," addressed "to Inigo Marquis Would-be."

while he is marching up into Alsatia, hath left French garrisons in all that duke's strongholds.

The Duke of Vendôme, since his departure, hath written from Calais that both kings with their armies were at one time within five hours' march one of another. The Queen of Bohemia is lately brought to bed of a son, and sorry she cannot be ready to accompany her husband into the Palatinate. When the King of Sweden first sent for him thither, he made answer (as I told you in my last) he had neither men nor money. "No!" said the king: "what, a brother of the King of Great Britain, and protected by the States, and must he come to me in his doublet and hose! Let him come, howsoever, and I will do my best to restore him to his patrimony." To which end, I hear, that incomparable king hath sworn all the towns he hath taken in the Palatinate to the service of their original master, the Palgrave. And I am told also that he hath given order to the Duke of Saxony once more to proclaim him King of Bohemia. Old Tilly, they say, hath at length thrust himself into a monastery at Brussels, that he might verify the saying, "*Desperatio facit monachum.*" But I do scarce believe, though it were told me from a good hand, that the emperor hath sent an ambassador extraordinary to the Grand Signor to send him aid against the King of Sweden. Mr. Gordon, the king's, or rather the merchants', agent, now at Dantzic, writes that he hath demanded aid also from his brother-in-law, the King of Poland, from whom, saith he, it was as easy for him to get a penny as to wring Hercules's club out of his fist. Nor will the state there suffer any men to be sent out, because they will not provoke so formidable an enemy. He writes farther that all Bohemia is re-conquered, saving the two strong towns of Pilsen and Budwitz; and that old Count Thorne is able to do more by his old acquaintance and correspondence, than the Duke of Saxony with his army.

Sir Robert Anstruther, in a letter dated the 29th of November, relateth that the emperor, being then still at Vienna, had assembled the States of Austria to give him poll-money, upon every head, for maintenance of the war, which was not as then concluded. He saith farther, that

the Duke of Saxony, being then about to erect a citadel at Prague, had summoned all the nobility and gentry of Bohemia to bring in their tenures, with intention to reject all those that were not antienter than 1620, and to restore the antient possessors. He saith, also, that the same duke bears a deadly feud as well to the Duke of Bavaria as to the emperor.

Sir Henry Vane, in his letters delivered to the king on Monday, recanteth the battle in Moravia, said to be fought between the Saxon forces and Tiffenbach, saying that Tiffenbach is yet alive; and that there was no such matter. It is no marvel, therefore, if my intelligence sometimes faileth me, when so great a master in Israel is fain to recant. The same letters report that Frankendale was not as yet taken, but beleaguered by that peerless king with at least 30,000 men, there being within it 4000 foot and 8000 horse. The Spaniards had provided a mine of gunpowder at Heidelberg to have blown up the king, if he had come thither; but, having heard of their stratagem, he will easily avoid it.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 26, 1631.

On Friday last the lord high constable's court for trial of Mackay and Ramsey was adjourned till to-day, when what is or may be resolved is impossible for me to know. I heard one say, not long since, it is a very airy business, and not to be laid fast hold on by those that have the managing of it. The judges and common lawyers say, in case a combat be awarded, whosoever kills the other is, by their law, guilty of murder: and I have heard bishops and divines say it is a heathenish [act] to seek truth by that way; and that all duels and combats whatsoever are condemned by general councils. Yesternight I was told by a knowing man that the whole business would be referred to the common law; the truth whereof I shall not be able to tell you until my next.

On Monday, being the first day of the term, Mr. Selden, to perform his recognizance and save himself and his bail,

appeared at the King's Bench bar, and prayed the judges he might be released. My Lord Chief Justice Richardson appealed to Judge Jones what was fit to be done, because he knew the cause of Mr. Selden's imprisonment. Judge Jones put it off to Mr. Noy, the king's attorney : and he answered he had neither order nor instruction about him ; and therefore he could not meddle with him. So the judges would have referred Mr. Selden for farther answer until to-day, which is Thursday, but he would by no means consent to that, saying, if his appearance were not entered upon record, his recognizance was forfeited, and if it were entered, the recognizance was void. Therefore, if they would not release him, he must enter a new recognizance, which he prayed might be in a lesser sum. Whereupon Judge Richardson drew it down from £2000 to £1000, and he and his sureties were bound for his appearance there the last day of the term : and it is thought that, in *summa summarum*, he will be called to be the king's solicitor.

The same morning, Sir Walter Long was brought to the Exchequer bar, and there was interrogated by the barons, whether he would appear and answer to a bill there exhibited against him by Sir Richard Heath, whilst he was Attorney-General, wherein he is charged to have made fraudulent conveyance of all his estate, of purpose to defraud his majesty of that £1000 fine which was imposed upon him in the Star Chamber, for absence out of his county in time of shrievalty. Whereunto Mr. Long said he would neither appear nor answer to any such bill, but would in all the business be a mere patient, and no agent at all : their lordships might do their pleasure, but he himself would have no hand in it. So they gave him till Monday to consider better thereof, and, if he will not then appear and answer, it is thought they will take him *pro confesso*, and proceed against him as they shall think fit. The manner of his coming thither was this : a writ under the great seal of England was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver him into the custody of the sheriff's of London ; and another writ, under the great seal also, was sent to them to receive him, and to bring him to the

Exchequer bar: and so, likewise, two great seals more must be despatched for his recommitment to the Tower.

The same lieutenant complained to his majesty of Mr. Valentine, that being a prisoner in another prison for the same offence, yet did he usually and very often visit Sir John Eliot in the Tower. Hereupon, Mr. Weeks, the keeper of the Gate-house, being questioned by the lords, why he had given so much scope to his prisoner, produced Sir Robert Heath's warrant, which permitted him to license Mr. Valentine to lie in the rules, and to go whither he would, about some law business he had in hand. Then Sir Robert Heath, being also called in question, made it appear he had obtained leave of his majesty so to do. In fine, Mr. Valentine, by order from their lordships, is drawn back out of the rules into the prison; but not so strictly kept in these, but that he may sometimes go abroad, as he did last Sunday to the sermon at Lincoln's Inn. I hear, Sir John Eliot is to remove out of his dark smoky lodging into a better.

On Monday morning also, my Lord of Essex and divers others of the nobility appeared before the lords of the privy council at Whitehall, about compounding for their knighthoods. His lordship said, he was not only present at the coronation, but employed also in services very near his majesty's person, as bearing the sword before him, and helping to put on and put off his robes; and was there ready to have received knighthood, or any other honour his majesty should have been pleased to vouchsafe on him. So, my lord treasurer asked his lordship, whether he would stand to that plea? He said he would; and so said all the rest, for they all plead.

Now, if you ask me what they do in foreign parts, I must, in the first place, not omit to tell you that our noble countryman my Lord Craven, being godfather to the king of Bohemia's son newly born, hath given him a cupboard of plate worth £1500, and a pension out of his lands during his life of £200 a-year. His lordship is now gone up towards the Palatinate with the King of Bohemia, and it is said they set forth on Monday sennight, being the 16th of this present. Sir Henry Vane's eldest son, and Cole,

the post that attended on him, met them onward of their journey as far as Arnheim, being, as Cole saith, conveyed along by 2500 of the States' horse, and 500 firelocks, and to be met upon the confines of Germany by the Landgrave of Hesse with another army. At Arnheim, the said king met with the last ambassador he had sent to the King of Sweden, bringing assurance, both in letters and words, of that victorious king's constant love towards himself, his queen, and children. Cole told a friend of mine yesterday, that the King of Sweden, as he keeps the most regular camp, so did he now at his late abode in Mentz keep the most glorious court in respect of princes, ambassadors, and other great persons attending on him, of all the kings in Europe. He saith he is now gone to Hanau, not above eighteen English miles from thence, and but six from Frankfort, to bid his queen so far welcome into Germany; and that six commissioners from the city of Cologne are gone after him for the rendering up of their town. He saith farther, that the city of Spire, wherein is the imperial chamber for deciding of all causes, is newly surrendered to that brave king. Also, that he hath taken in all the lower Palatinate, saving Frankendale, Heidelberg, and Cruznach, all which he hath blocked up. And it is thought Sir Henry Vane would not send home his son and heir, but upon some extraordinary message. And it is whispered in court, that the Spaniards will render up Frankendale unto him, as to his Majesty of Great Britain's ambassador, that is to say, when he can hold it no longer, and perhaps upon some intolerable terms of conditions. But, if it be true, which I hear of others, it seems they are well prepared to render it to the King of Bohemia, when he is come thither, because they have permitted some ministers to preach the Gospel there. Cole saith farther, that Magdeburg is relieved by Count Pappenheim, who, with 4000 horse and some hundreds of foot, broke through one of the king's quarters into the town. Others tell me that the Jesuits at Prague, having plotted to betray that town again into the emperor's hands, were banished thence, and out of the whole kingdom of Bohemia on St. Stephen's day, and that after their plot was discovered and prevented.

The strong fort of Manheim (for the town was dismantled long ago) was very lately taken by stratagem for the King of Sweden. Two hundred soldiers, hid in a great vessel under a lading of faggots, leaped suddenly on shore, slew the sentinel, found the rest asleep, and so took it without loss of one man. I hear also that the king hath fortified Mentz during his abode there.

As the emperor is said to make great preparations in Austria, Hungary, &c., so the king, besides others, is now levying of no less than 300 cornets of horse. The French ambassador presented him with 300,000 crowns from his master, and departed from him most contented; and Ragotzki's (prince of Transylvania) ambassador offers 60,000 men in his master's name. The French king hath got leave of the city of Strasburg to pass his army of 2500 foot and 6000 horse over their bridge: and then he may go either into Austria, to hunt the emperor, or into Switzerland, and thence into Italy. They say, Monsieur, his brother, whatever hath formerly been told of their reconciliation, is for certain at Brussels, where he hath been entertained like a king, and hath had a canopy borne over him; and yet they say, also, that Brabant and Flanders do refuse at this present to pay contribution.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, January 26, 1632.

There is now at the King of Sweden's court betwixt twenty and thirty princes and extraordinary ambassadors. The King of Bohemia hath gone up to him with eight troops of horse and 1500 musketeers. Sir Henry Vane's eldest son,¹ which came to town on Tuesday last with a packet of news, affirms the same, and hath, as it is rumoured, brought some secret news to his majesty, which some conceive to be the delivery of Frankendale and Heidelberg to our English ambassador by the Spaniard; which if accepted of upon condition, and in way of thanks to that king, when, as the world seeth, he is forced thereunto by the King of Sweden's arms, it will be as great an affront

¹ Who was beheaded after the Restoration.

as can be put upon the King of Sweden by us. I had, yesternight, the sight of a letter from the Chancellor of Sweden to Sir Thomas Roe, which confirmeth the report which Mr. Francis Gordon brought over concerning the sudden death of the Poland queen; a wonder which the tempest and thunder did to three churches in that city, when she made Luther and Calvin such hobgoblins in her procession. The letter inciteth Sir Thomas Roe to inform the king and the nation, that, whereas he heareth Mr. Gordon was cried out upon for a liar, he doth assure him from such, whose credits are not to be questioned, that the same day the procession was performed in that manner the queen died suddenly; that the tempest and thunder did strike off the head of our Saviour's picture, the crown of the Virgin Mary's and the . . . of John Baptist in the Jesuitical church; and in the Dominical and other churches the crown of thorns from off the head of our Saviour, the candlesticks and cup off the high altar, and divers other the like wonders.

This morning, being the conclusive day for the business betwixt our two Scots combatants in the Earl Marshal's court, whither I am now going, I have not leisure to write you any more news at this time.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 30, 1632.

We have it confirmed from all parts, that the princes of Germany are in a very good union amongst themselves, and are still animated both in their councils and wars by the spirit of that heroical and wise king, who, foreseeing, as it were, his destiny, had set down his advice and directions for their future courses after his death; which he left as a legacy unto them, and are by them, as I hear, punctually followed and observed.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 6, 1632.

We have now here my Lord of Arundel, newly come back out of Holland, of whose errand you have already

understood the effect by my former. But, besides, he bringeth this news, that the States have broken off their treaty with the Flemish, being resolved not to be longer amused, but to get their peace with the sword; to which end they have made great preparations for the war this year, and have given order to their soldiers to be ready to go into the field the next month of March.

The King of France's journey to Metz is put off for a month. We do suppose my Lord Ambassador Weston to be now in his court, being come back out of Italy, where, I hear, he shall be employed to make an association between the two kings for the cause of Germany, and especially for the recovery of the Palatinate.

Here we have a young ambassador, the Prince Radzovil's son, from the new King of Poland, to give notice to his majesty both of his predecessor's death and of his own election to that crown; who had his audience yesterday in the Banqueting House, having performed that office already in Holland, and being shortly to do the like in France.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 13, 1632.

Having little to trouble you withal at this time concerning foreign matters, I will begin this letter with the woeful and lamentable accident of fire which happened yesterday, and burned down about sixty houses on London Bridge, having begun by the carelessness of a maid in a house on this side the bridge, and so been carried by the wind along the same; whereby not only so many houses, and the goods that were in them, were utterly lost, but some persons also have been burned and hurt. And it was much feared that some of the arches would have been spoiled also, by reason of the quantity of coals and other fuel that was in the cellars or vaults. But I hear that now, God be thanked, the fire is quenched.

Touching the passages in the Star Chamber and the Exchequer Chamber this term, I make no doubt, sir, but you have heard how Mr. Sherfield, the Recorder of Salis-

bury, hath been sentenced and fined for beating down a window of a church in the said town, where God the Father was represented in a picture, pretending that it was abused to idolatry. And how certain feoffees' moneys, bequeathed and given for redeeming of impropriations, to the sum of £7000 or £8000, have been questioned for it, and those redeemed livings, wherein they had placed ministers of their own choice, resumed and put into the king's hands. You have heard also how a great number of lords and gentlemen are called in question, and like to be troubled, for having sojourned here in the city, contrary to the king's proclamation; and I hear that many more are like to be questioned, for having likewise broken his majesty's proclamation in eating of flesh at prohibited times, which may be a work reserved for the next term.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 20, 1632.

We do very shortly expect here the return of my Lord Ambassador Weston, who is now at Paris, and, as I hear, hath made there some motion for the re-establishing of the young Princes Palatine, as Sir Robert Anstruther hath done in Holland: whereto, I think, it will be expected that we shall first put our hands. The Prince of Radzovil, having with commendation finished his ambassage in that court, is gone to perform the like into France. And now we have here the Chancellor Oxenstiern's son, a towardly young gentleman, together with a nephew of Count Gustavus Horne, and some other Dutch gentlemen, that are come as travellers to see this court, where they are much respected and caressed. On Sunday last, my lord treasurer was created Earl of Portland at Whitehall.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 23, 1631-2.

My Lord of Dorchester¹ being now dead, and on Sunday night, with no great pomp, buried in Westminster

¹ Sir Dudley Carleton.

church, many there are, both in court and town, nominated as competitors for his place. Some lords, as my Lord Cottington in chief, my Lord Viscount Falkland, my Lord Hobart, and my Lord Aston. Likewise, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Isaac Wake, Sir Kenelm Digby; to whom some stick not to annex Mr. Walter Montagu and Sir James Bagg. My Lord of Dorchester, though he left no great estate behind him, not above £700 a-year, yet left he a good name, both of an able statesman, a sincere Protestant, and of a true Englishman; bate me only the lean cheeks, canvass trusses, and wooden shoes, which he mentioned once in parliament.¹ But then we had a duke, since whose death, we may say of my Lord of Dorchester, as Virgil says of Hector, "*Quantum mutatus ab illo!*"

This day sennight the Lord Mackay presented, in the Lord High Constable's Court, a solemn and formal protestation in writing for the truth of his bill. But Ramsey, for his answer, protested only in words, desiring the time appointed for the combat might be shortened. But on Saturday, when upon better advisement he offered his protestation also in writing, as pleading ignorance in so unusual a case, the lords, because on Thursday he had neglected their Monday's order, would not accept it, but said they would farther consider thereof. My lord high constable also, on Saturday, appointed the weapons of these two combatants should be, first, a lance; secondly, a long sword; and, thirdly, sword and dagger. And, for defensive arms, they were referred to further consideration. But, since, I heard a skilful man say, that it was in the defendant's choice what defensive arms the appellant and he should put on; and whether they should wear any at all or no.

On Friday, my Lord of Essex, accompanied by my Lords of Warwick and of Holland, was present at the solemnization of his mother's² funeral in the chancel at Tunbridge; her corpse in her chariot, covered with black

¹ See Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

² Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, married, first to Sir Philip Sidney, then to Robert, Earl of Essex, and at last to Richard, Earl of Clanricarde.

velvet, attended on by eight coaches, and a great troop of horse, being brought thither by torches at midnight.

The bishopric of Durham must pay one year's rent to his majesty, ere another bishop be installed. And, since the death of the late bishop,¹ who was designed for Winchester, some say my Lord of London² will accept of Winchester. Now, it is current in every man's mouth, that the king's journey into Scotland is put off till another year. But on Tuesday, his majesty carried the queen a pleasanter voyage, namely, from hence to Theobald's, thence to Royston, so on to Cambridge, where three comedies are provided for their entertainment, and, lastly, to Newmarket, where their majesties do stay till a fortnight before Easter, and do then return.

The statute, as I take it, of 12^{mo.} of Queen Elizabeth, enacting, that whosoever builds a cottage without laying four acres of ground unto it, shall forfeit £10, and £40 a-year so long as that cottage doth stand, is now to be put in execution here within twenty miles of London round about, where, and in the suburbs of this town, will be found many thousands of such tenements.

I am told, but not by any of either house, that my Lord Rich,³ being newly returned out of France, shall marry the Lady Anne Cavendish, daughter of the late Earl of Devon. Her portion to be £8000 from her father, and £3000 or £4000 from her mother: her jointure, £2000 a-year. My Lord Rich's portion, after his father's death, £6000 a-year (all his brothers and sisters nobly provided for), and his present maintenance, until then, £1500 per annum. I hear, that the unknighthed Catholic lords, lying all under the lash of Queen Elizabeth's statutes (which, whensoever his majesty shall be pleased strictly to put in execution, he may soon undo them all), do willingly compound for their knighthoods, paying only double to what they are in the subsidy; whereas, others, if they can get it from them, must pay treble, and one half over and above. My Lord

¹ Dr. John Howson, who died February 6, 1631-2.

² Dr. Laud.

³ Robert, afterwards Earl of Warwick, survived his father but one year, dying May 29, 1659.

Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston,¹ who is £300 only in the subsidy, is required to pay £2000, which is almost seven times as much: but his lordship refuseth so to do, and standeth upon his plea: and so, I hear, do twenty-five lords more. The Earl of Banbury, aged fourscore and six, is said now to lie upon his death-bed; but I hear, that his sister, my Lady of Leicester,² being six years elder, can yet walk a mile in a morning.

My Lord Bishop of Lincoln, called this other day before a committee of the Lords, did much repine at it, that he, having been lord keeper, and, for aught he knew, being still of the body of that council, should be brought before referees, and not before the body. The occasion was a complaint of Dr. Lamb, his chancellor, against his lordship, because he would, by the strength of the canon law, deprive the doctor of his office; for that he would not renew his patent from his lordship, when it was proffered him. Whereupon, my lord's secretary, having obtained the reversion of the place, sues the doctor at the common law, *et hinc illæ lachrymæ*.

On Monday, one Mr. Sandwich, kinsman to my Lord Aston, giving Mr. Henry Jermyn, a prime servant of the queen, some foul words in the preaching court at Whitehall, as supposing, while Mr. Jermyn was at play, he had bandied balls on purpose at him, as he stood in the gallery at the upper end of the Tennis Court. Mr. Jermyn struck him a box on the ear. Sandwich drew his sword, and, had not the thrust been put by by a footman, had hazarded Jermyn's life. But how the Lords have censured it I know not.

If you ask me what they are doing in remote parts, I must first tell you what concerneth ourselves. I hear, therefore, that Burlamachi, by the power and industry of Sir Isaac Wake, hath obtained an assignment out of the imposts of alum, to be paid the other moiety of the queen's portion. And I believe it the rather, because yesterday,

¹ Commonly called "the good Earl of Kingston." He greatly distinguished himself at the breaking out of the civil wars, fighting for the king, and was accidentally shot on the 30th of July, 1643, by his own partisans, when a captive in the hands of the Parliamentarians.

² Lettice, widow of Walter, Earl of Essex, of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and of Sir Christopher Blount.

one of our Canada merchants told me, they must send for their people out of the fort of Quebec in that river, which, some three or four years ago, was taken from the French, by Captain Kirke, but now, in respect of the said payment, is to be restored to them again. Wherein they make a good bargain, for they will gain not so little as 100,000 crowns a-year by the trade of beavers there.

Now, let me transcribe verbatim what my cousin, Robin Marsham, one of Sir Henry Vane's voluntary gentlemen, writes to me, on the 4th of February, old style, from Frankfort, where both King and Queen of Sweden do commonly reside. "In the mean time," saith he, "take this for certain, that Madgeburg is in, and that Pappenheim, by my Lord Marquis and Banner, suffered the defeat of a regiment, and lost six ensigns. Pappenheim is now upon the Weser stream, and my Lord Marquis before Wolfenbuttel. Tilly is again made general for the Catholic League, being with his forces in Swabia by Ohne, and the Bishop of Wurtzburg is sent ambassador for the same league to the King of France. Wallenstein prepares against the spring for Bohemia, and the Duke of Saxe, though he be now at Dresden, makes ready to meet him. The King of Sweden parted from hence but yesterday to Mentz, and is now marching towards Vanderberg, who, with 10,000 or 12,000 men, is past the Moselle. That king is resolved to give him battle, if he will meet him. I am going to the army to-morrow. Therefore, till the King of Bohemia come, farewell." Thus far my cousin.

The French King, being now at or near Paris, and, as some say, his army also being retired from the frontiers of Germany into France, droops of a melancholy disease: in whose favour, as I hear a Catholic report, the cardinal begins to decline. Meanwhile, Monsieur his brother spending the King of Spain £250 a day, was lately feasted a day and a half at Antwerp. From which town some have written that Count Henry Vanderberg, mentioned by my cousin, hath been defeated, and made to retire home.

The French King, they say, levies all the power he can, intending this spring to invade Artois, leaving Brabant or

Flanders to the Hollander, and Liege, Limburg, and Luxemburgh, to the Swede.

The articles propounded in the late truce of fourteen days, by the Protestant League in Germany to the Catholics, were these : 1. That all edicts, prescriptions, bans, &c., of the emperor, published in prejudice of any man since the year 1620, be revoked.—2. All goods and lands, by force thereof taken away, restored.—3. Evangelics made as capable for honours and offices as Catholics.—4. All names that may breed division in religion, buried.—5. Both leagues to join against the house of Austria.—6. And to choose the King of Sweden king of the Romans. For, they say, he is now like to be chosen king of Poland, his competitors being Ladislaus, son to the late king, and Leopoldus, the emperor's brother. And it hath been said, a month ago, that the greater part of Hungary, by their ambassadors, have offered to elect him their king. And if all this prove, then a man may say the crowns do come rolling in at his feet.

My Lord of Canterbury¹ told me, yesterday, from Sir Francis Nethersole's mouth, that the Kings of Sweden and Bohemia are joined, after the king had taken in Heidelberg, Bamberg, and Lindau. The two kings met, as a merchant told me, with two armies of 4000 apiece, in a great field between Frankfort and Mentz. When they approached, the armies making a stand, the kings met on horseback, and, having saluted each other, dismounted and embraced ; but he of Sweden the other with such joy and affection, as he lifted him up on high, which was apprehended for a good omen to the King of Bohemia by all that saw it.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 14, 1631-2.

As the weather beginneth to grow warm, so are businesses like to do where the stages of action are at this day in Christendom, and especially in Germany, where the Popish electors, and the rest of that league, having re-

¹ Dr. Abbott.

fused to accept of the neutrality with the King of Sweden, upon the conditions proposed by the King of France, and the Duke of Bavaria joining again with the emperor, the opposition is like to grow mighty against the King of Sweden, especially being so powerfully strengthened and supported as it shall be by the King of Spain, who is resolved to set up his rest for the defence of the emperor, and to that end hath raised by extraordinary ways great sums of money in Spain, and sent Don Gonzales de Cordova into Flanders, to be general of an army against the Swedish party; who, being arrived at Paris, is there now in the quality of an ambassador extraordinary to negotiate a peace, if it may be gotten upon any conditions with the King of France, to cut off, if it be possible, his assistance from the King of Sweden, which in human likelihood may sway the balance of the present great quarrel in Christendom. What the said Gonzales will be able to work with the said king I know not; but hitherto he hath showed his affection most inclined to the King of Sweden and his party, to whom he hath lately sent £100,000 sterling, according to the contract which is between them, and hath promised, as I hear, the like sum to the States' ambassador, who seem to forbear putting their army in the field till they shall have received that money. Besides, I hear that the Marshal de la Force is with his army in the country of Treves, following the King of Sweden's orders, who of late hath taken the town and castle of Creutznach, in the Palatinate; where my Lord Craven hath gotten a great reputation, and received a push of a pike or of an halberd in the thigh. The King of Bohemia was present at that action, to whom the King of Sweden has given the right hand in his own lodging, and that title of Bohemia everywhere; as do also all the princes of that part, saving the Landgrave of Darmstadt, whom the King of Sweden hath checked for it.

Those of Frankendale, notwithstanding their being blocked up, have made an incursion, carried away good booties, and burned all the villages to the city of Worms. There is great suspicion of the Duke of Saxony, that he will play false, and close up again with the emperor.

Some of his forces have been beaten lately in Bohemia. Tilly is with an army of 15,000, within two leagues of Nuremberg. Gustavus Horne and Bannier, for the King of Sweden, are about the Upper Palatinate. Wallenstein, for the emperor, groweth very strong. Here is a rumour of a new truce granted by the King of Sweden to the bishops, but I hope it will not prove so. Here we have an extraordinary ambassador from the States, who is gone to Newmarket. At his return from thence we may hear somewhat of the subject, and success of his negotiation.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 20, 1632.

From Germany, we hear of great and extraordinary levies that are made there for the emperor; whereupon some have taken occasion to discredit the strength of the other party. But, if we give credit to the last advertisements that are come from thence, their forces are in as good case as his, and as well able to stand upon the offensive as the defensive. Colonel Hepburn, a brave Scottish commander, although he be a Papist, who went some months since discontented from the late King of Sweden into France, is newly come over with a commission from that king to raise a regiment of Scottishmen for his service.

My Lord Weston is also newly come back from his ambassages, and the Duke of Lennox from his travelling with him; who, in their passage from Calais to Dover, being in one of the king's ships, met with a small fleet of twelve or thirteen Hollanders, that were bound for the East Indies, whereof they warned the admiral to strike down his topsail before the king's ships; which he refusing to do, they made some eighteen shots at him, whereof some pierced him through and through. Whereunto the said admiral made answer in like manner with his ordnance against the ship royal, whose captain would have thereupon pursued and sunk the Hollander; but they having more seriously considered of the matter, they did not think fit to give way thereto; and so the Hollander

went on and escaped away, whose insolence in this action is disallowed and condemned here by the ministers of that State.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, September 20, 1632.

The story of King Henry VIII.'s reign, written in Latin by Sir Henry Bourchier,¹ was never yet printed, nor will he publish or communicate it till Sir Thomas Cotton's study be set at liberty, that he may compare it with the originals there, out of which he first took it. That which the queen's majesty, some of her ladies, and all her maids of honour, are now practising upon, is a pastoral penned by Mr. Walter Montagu, wherein her majesty is pleased to act a part, as well for her recreation as for the exercise of her English. Ben Jonson, who I thought had been dead, hath written a play against next term, called "The Magnetic Lady."²

On Friday, at eleven in the forenoon, her majesty with her own hands helped to lay the two first square corner-stones, with a silver plate of equal dimension between them, in the foundation of her Capuchin Church, intended to be built in the Tennis Courtyard of Somerset House; which stones, in the presence of 2000 people, at least, they consecrated with great ceremony, having caused to be engraven upon the upper part of that plate the pictures of their majesties, as founders, and the lower side of the capuchins, as consecrators.

One wrote to me from Cambridge two things in commendation of the present Bishop of York;³ first, that

¹ He mentions this work in a letter to Archbishop Usher, from London, April 13, 1629:—"I now spend my time in gathering matter for the story of Henry VIII., which in time, if God spare me life and health, I intend to publish."—*Life and Letters of Archbishop Usher*, published by Dr. Parr, p. 406.

² The poet was not absolutely dead; although so much neglected, he was obliged to appeal to the lord treasurer Weston for some assistance to keep him alive. Friends rallied round him in his distress, and he was enabled shortly afterwards to produce "The Magnetic Lady, or Humours Reconciled;" in which, according to his own description in "the Induction," the heroine is "a lady, a brave, bountiful housekeeper, and a virtuous widow, who having a young niece ripe for a man, and marriageable, he makes that his centre attractive to draw thither a diversity of guests, all persons of different humours, to make up his perimeter."

³ Dr. Nevile, who died in 1640.

being by his coachman hurried apace through a town where were many poor people, as if he had meant to save his master's purse harmless, he called him knave for his labour, and made him stand still till such time as he had with his own hand freely distributed to them all. Secondly, that being advertised by some of his officers how he might levy a tenth upon his clergy, as well as his late predecessor¹ had done, he answered he would in no case attempt any such matter: for he was come to benefit, not to change his clergy. One day the last week my Lord of Arundel and his son, my Lord Maltravers, having espied my Lord of Canterbury's coach on Banstead Downs coming towards theirs, before they came a butt's length short of it, both their lordships alighted, and went a great pace towards his grace's coach; who, when they approached, said, "What! and must my lord marshal of England take so great pains to do me so much honour? Were my legs as good as my heart, I should have met your lordships the better half of the way." Then my Lord of Arundel replied, "It might well become an earl marshal to give so much respect to an archbishop of Canterbury, besides the particular obligation from his lordship to his grace for his noble usage of his son and daughter Maltravers, while they were his prisoners." Whereupon my lord's grace took occasion to congratulate unto both their lordships my Lord Maltravers's brave and hopeful progeny of three sons and a daughter; and so they parted. His grace by his diet hath so moderated his gout, as it is now rather an infirmity than a pain. He looks fresh, and enjoys his health, and hath his wits and intellectuals about him; so that if any other prelate do gape after his benefice, his grace, perhaps, according to that old and homely proverb, [may] eat of the goose which shall graze upon his grave.

Upon the death of the master of the rolls in Ireland, Mr. Emanuel Gifford, who was so great an apologist for the duke in parliament, and therefore much favoured by him, should by virtue of a great seal obtained in King James's time, succeed in the place. Against which, I hear, my lord deputy, that now is, will mainly oppose.

¹ Dr. Harsnet.

It is as fully resolved as any future contingent can be, that the king's journey into Scotland shall begin before the end of March; and his majesty saith, God sending him life and health, that nothing shall hinder him from performing it, but (which at this time is very unlikely, and which God forbid!) an invasion. Sir Henry Vane, as I am told from two very credible authors, is returning home from his embassy with the King of Sweden; but with what success I know not. My Lord Bishop of London, as I hear, is about Michaelmas to enjoy Winchester; and I have heard heretofore he should keep the jurisdiction of London also, but that the revenue should go to the reparation of St. Paul's.

On Monday, in the evening, divers gentlemen of Lincoln's Inn throwing brickbats at a new-built house at the lower end of the garden, towards Holbourne, because the owner had turned his house of office that way, one of the house discharged hail-shot upon Mr. Attorney's¹ son's face, which by good chance it missed his eyes, yet it pitifully mangled his visage.

On Monday, at night, there was one read a letter publicly upon the Exchange, written or pretended to be written by Mr. Lionel Wake, a popish merchant at Antwerp, some eleven days ago, which saith that the news from Cologne was, that the King of Sweden having charged Wallenstein on the rear, his troops turning face about, fought a battle with the king, and slew the greatest part of his infantry, and made him retire back into his trenches, where, if he would, he had an outlet to escape: but that Nuremberg within few days would be the Emperor's. The fellow that read the letter was by some laughed at for his pains, and told that always before that king's great victories, such flams were still cast out by the papists.

The last that I can learn of that brave king is, that having upon our 21st of August united his power into one body, was master of the field, assailed Wallenstein's trenches, and drove him into his utmost strengths. And to-day I hear the king hath proffered him many skirmishes; and that there have been sharp bickerings between

¹ Noy.

them, not without loss on the king's side, as well of men of note as of common men. And the last thing of all that I have heard is, that the king has found a way at length to divide the army proper to Wallenstein, from that of Bavaria; but no general battle, a thing which all men's expectations do hunt after, is yet fought. The Duke of Bavaria, though he have left his army with Wallenstein, yet some say he is gone away discontented, and with a small train, into some town of his own country. General Ossa, if not taken prisoner, is still besieged in Philipsburg, whither he fled for succour; and they write that upon his defeat the garrison at Heidelberg are ready to come to a parley. Pappenheim hath let himself and his baffled army to hire unto the burgomasters of Cologne, that he may defend them from the French and Swedish forces thereabout.

But the news, written not above three days agone, by Mr. Daniel Skinner from Calais, is that the assembly of the States at Brussels are broken up without concluding anything at all, *quoniam Hannibal est ad portas*; that is to say, as he writes, the Prince of Orange is gone with an army to Brussels, and Count Henry Vanderberg with another army to Mechlin.

It is reported and written out of France, that the noble cardinal, desirous to conquer his deadly enemies with courtesy rather than with rigour and revenge, hath obtained of the king the pardon both of Monsieur and of the Duke of Montmorency, and in the king's edict against the said duke hath made the protestants of Languedoc highly to be extolled for their loyalty to the king, and promised great favours: which mind, both in the king and in him, God continue.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, September 26, 1632.

Our last news concerning the King of Sweden do import that he, not being able to draw Wallenstein to a battle, nor to beat him out of his entrenchments with those batteries which he had raised upon certain mounts, did resolve

to set upon a castle, which, being near joining to the said entrenchments, would have given him a great advantage against them. But he found the same so well fortified and defended, as that though he continued his assault nine or ten hours together, yet at length he was forced to give over, and to retire with the loss of 1500 or 2000 of his men, amongst whom were some of his colonels and other officers; and amongst those that were hurt, General Bannier hath had one of his arms broken in two places with musket-shot. The Duke of Weimar had his horse killed under him; and so, they say, had Wallenstein also, who, likewise, by the report of such of his men as were taken prisoners, made a great loss of his side, and found after the fight divers of his colonels wanting. And this is at this time the certainest advertisement we have of the passage of things there. Some merchants' letters do affirm that, since, the king hath forced him out of his entrenchments, and driven him into a wood. But this shall remain in suspense till we have a further confirmation of it.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 3, 1632.

Out of Germany we hear that the King of Sweden, having left ten of his regiments with those of Nuremberg for their defence, is come down himself with the rest of his army into Franconia; the King of Bohemia being come away from him with ten thousand men into his Lower Palatinate, where he intendeth to raise as many more to prosecute himself, and to achieve the recovery of that country, wherein now he is not like to find any great opposition or difficulty, those of Franconia being brought now, as we hear, to a very low ebb, till he may be favoured with the like opportunity for the recovery also of the rest of his countries. In the mean time, the Duke of Saxony hath almost made himself master of all Silesia, having given a very great defeat to Don Baltazar de Marodas, and after that taken Breslau, the chief city of the country.

The Archduke Leopold, the emperor's only brother, who

had also the command of an army for him about Tyrol, is lately dead.

In our court the mourning was kept on Saturday and Sunday last for Don Carlos, which was recompensed with the news that were brought there at the same time of the Duchess of Savoy being brought to bed of a fair daughter. My Lord Marquis Hamilton is on the way coming home.

Sir George Gresley, Bart., to Sir Thos. Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, October 11, 1632.

What is done either by the King of Sweden's army or Wallenstein's since their removal, or whether the King of Bohemia be come from the king in discontent, or with the loan of 10,000 men towards the settling him in his own dominions, is so diversely reported, that I refer you therein to Mr. Pory's intelligence. For French news, the Queen of France hath of late received some hurt by a fall out of the coach; whereupon Mr. Henry Jermyn was sent from our king and queen on Saturday last to visit her. The King of France and his brother are upon terms of peace, which concluded, the queen will return. And it is said our queen endeavoureth to get leave of the king that she may go into France this next spring.

Marquis Hamilton is landed, and hourly expected at the court; but I see Mr. Frederick Hamilton in town. Here are two of our merchants lately broken for some £50,000, by whom it is said Sir Thomas Roe hath lost five or six thousand pounds. One of their names is Saunders, and they are both now in hold. And it is reported for certain that two of the richest merchants in Spain are lately put into the Inquisition.

The Lord Rea is at liberty with his young wife at Greenwich, and Davy Ramsey banished the realm with £500 in his purse, which he is to have at the king's return from Newmarket, and so depart the realm.

Serjeant Berkeley and Serjeant Crawley are the men now nominated to succeed in the late deceased judges' places. And yesterday the inhabitants which pulled down the new

enclosures within Feckenham forest were censured in the Star Chamber to pay £500 a-piece fines to the king, and to acknowledge their offence at the assizes, and to repair the fences at their own charge.

One Mr. Lunsford also, a Sussex man, and near neighbour to Sir Thomas Pelham, was, for killing divers deer in Sir Thomas's park, and other riots committed against him and his servants, censured to pay £1,000 fine to the king, £500 to Sir Thomas, and £200 to his servants; to be bound to his good behaviour in £2000 bond, with sufficient sureties; and in that he was either beyond sea or lived obscurely, that a privy seal should go out for him; and if he did not come in and acknowledge his offence at the assizes in Sussex, betwixt this and Whitsuntide, his fine should be doubled, and he abjure the land, according to the statute in that case provided.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, October 18, 1632.

If by a more perfect demonstration I could show my respect, I would not so often with such trivial terms entertain your precious time. But since you are pleased still to accept so favourably of my service in this kind, I shall not fail to inform you such news as I shall hear. And so at this time, that Sir John Poolie did yesterday in Westminster Hall affirm to many there that there were letters come from the Sound and gone to the king, importing that there were posts sent by the King of Sweden to the King of Denmark to signify unto him that God had given him so good success in the pursuit of Wallenstein's army, that he had defeated it, even to the horse that defended Wallenstein's own person. Which news being told unto Mr. Burlamachi by an acquaintance of mine, who asked him what he heard, Burlamachi replied, that whatever he should hear to the contrary, yet he must be confident that the news from the King of Sweden was very good, as would shortly appear by letters from Hamburg.

It is also reported that the King of Bohemia, demanding of the King of Sweden what his intention was towards him

for the restoring him to his possessions, according to his professions to all and performances to some of the princes of the religion, he bade him repair unto his chancellor, who should within four days resolve him therein: which the King of Bohemia performing, the chancellor told him that the king his master's promise was to restore, if he could, all the Lutheran princes to their possessions; and if he were one of that number, he had no doubt of the king his master's performance. This being related to Sir Francis Nethersole, and asked what he heard, he replied there was some such answer given the King of Bohemia; but he could not affirm the truth thereof, until he had seen the King of Sweden's manifest, which he should do within a day or two.

It is said for certain that Wright, the Bishop of Bristol, Bowles, the Bishop of Rochester, and Curle, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, have all three their *congé d'élire* for their removals; viz., the Bishop of Bristol to Coventry and Litchfield, the Bishop of Rochester to Bath and Wells, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells to Winchester. And it is thought that Dr. Juxon, clerk of the closet, shall be Bishop of Rochester.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 18, 1632.

Concerning Germany, the post of Antwerp giveth out that the King of Sweden hath been foiled by Wallenstein, and that himself has gone no man can tell whither. But by another advertisement we do not understand that anything is passed between them since they rose and left one another by Nuremberg. This only we hear, that Wallenstein did after that divide his great army into three parts, whereof he sent the one into Silesia against the Saxons, who are reported to have not only subdued all that province, but invaded also Moravia. The second part of his army he sent against the boors of the river Ems, which in great numbers have taken arms, and fortified themselves upon the confines of Austria, against the emperor. And himself with the third part, amounting to some 20,000

men, hath retrenched himself near Forcheim, a strong place in Franconia, with an intent, if he can, to regain that country.

The king, after his retreat from Nuremberg, came to Neustadt, there to refresh his army, especially his horse, which were much wearied and decayed for want of fodder; and after he had visited his queen at Wurtzburg, he went up after those that were sent against the boors, whom after he had secured, he came back into Franconia. But what he or Wallenstein have done since we do not understand.

My Lord Marquis of Hamilton is newly landed and gone to the king to Newmarket, who is now fully resolved to perform his journey into Scotland the next spring.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 24, 1632.

Concerning the German affairs, there are many rumours spread here to the King of Sweden's disadvantage. But the likeliest news we have from thence are that he is gone towards the upper parts of Bavaria, to countenance the boors, which are strong there in arms against the emperor; and that Wallenstein keepeth his camp about Forcheim and Bamberg, in Franconia, whilst the Duke of Saxony is pursuing his conquests in Silesia, and Gustavus Horne with the Rhinegrave, in Alsatia. My Lord Marquis Hamilton landed the last week, and is yet with his majesty at Newmarket, who is expected to be here back on Monday next.

Mr. Pory to the Lord Brooke, at Warwick Castle; or, in his absence, to Sir Thomas Puckering.

London, October 25, 1632.

That I may now tell your lordship, or at least your two noble friends my patrons in Warwickshire, first what I heard last, I was told from a Frenchman this morning, that so soon as monsieur had yielded to the king his brother, the first thing the king did, he paid all the strangers that were in Monsieur's service, and sent them away: but for his domesticals he presently beheaded twenty of them,

and caused those that were fled to be hanged up in effigy, and their houses, if they had any, to be rased, and their woods to be cut down. Those towns, also, that took his part, or showed him any countenance, were demolished to the very foundation, to the end that none in that kingdom might. Monsieur is confined to Tours, the Duke of Montmorency imprisoned in Bois de Vincennes, the Duke d'Elbœuf escaped. The cardinal made administrator of all Monsieur's estate, the queen-mother never to return into France during his and the king's life, and the Protestants, for their fidelity in Languedoc, much caressed by both. Monsieur, indeed, tempted those four great Protestant towns of Nismes, Montpellier, Montauban, and Aiguemortes; but found them, like so many ricks, immoveable from their loyalty to their sovereign. And when the Bishop of Montpellier would have betrayed that city to Monsieur, the Protestants took up arms, and delivered him up to the king. For consideration whereof, that king hath revived the Edict of Nantes, and hath in the Cours des Aydes throughout all the Courts Parliaments in France placed half the officers Protestants, as it was in his father's time: and therefore the "Cour des Aydes" was in all places named "La Chambre my-partie."

But now let us turn back and look what is done at home. On Tuesday was sennight, Mr. Mason, of Lincoln's Inn, made a motion to the judges of the King's Bench for Sir John Eliot, that whereas the doctors were of opinion he could never recover of his consumption until such time as he might breathe in purer air, they would for some certain time grant him his enlargement for that purpose. Whereunto my Lord Chief Justice Richardson answered, that, although Sir John were brought low in body, yet was he as high and lofty in mind as ever; for he would neither submit to the king nor to the justice of that court. In fine, it was concluded by the Bench to refer him to the king by way of petition.

Yesterday was sennight, my lord keeper, my lord privy seal, my Lord of Arundel, my Lord of Kelly, my Lord Wimbledon, my Lord of London, my Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windebanke, signed an order at the council-

board in these words: "Upon consideration had at the board of the great abuse in the printing and publishing of the ordinary Gazettes and pamphlets of news from foreign parts: and upon signification of his majesty's express pleasure and command for the present suppressing of the same, it was thought fit, and hereby ordered, that all printing and publishing of the same be accordingly suppressed and inhibited. And that as well Nathaniel Butter and Nicolas Bourne, booksellers, (under whose name the said Gazettes have been usually published) as all other stationers, printers, and booksellers, presume not from henceforth to print, publish, or sell any of the said pamphlets, &c., as they will answer the contrary at their perils."

They say the occasion of this order was the importunity of the Spanish and archduchess's agents, who were vexed at the soul to see so many losses and crosses, so many dishonours and disasters, betide the House of Austria, as well in the Upper as in the Lower Germany; but this smothering of the Currantos is but a palliation, not a cure, of their wounds. They will burst out again one of these days.

I hear of another great sum of money come out of Spain to be coined here, and then to be made over by bills to the archduchess. Four of the king's ships and six merchant ships are to go for the coast of Ireland, to beat the Turks thence. And the occasion was this: Captain Plumley was sent thither with one of the ships royal and two whelps to seek out Nutt the pirate, was met withal by twenty-seven great Turkish men-of-war, who gave him chase; and, had he not hied him the faster into harbour, might have sunk or taken him. There is now a great present of horses and rich saddles to be sent to the Duke of Savoy, where my lord ambassador Weston now resideth, and where his brother-in-law, the Duke of Lennox, is to marry the Duke's sister.

I should have told you, in a more proper place, that a minister in St. Mary's at Oxford prayed, very lately, it would please God to inspire the Courantiers with the spirit of truth, that we might know when to pray and where to praise; which prayer was, I think, ominous.

One much conversant at the court told me, this other day, how truly I know not, that my Lord of Newcastle¹ is sworn gentleman of the bedchamber, and hath paid £2000 for it. Besides that, Mr. Eliot, the king's page, and Mr. Croft, the queen's page, falling at odds, went out into the field, and that Mr. Eliot slew Croft. Another courtier, but of greater quality and more intimate, saith that Mr. Montagu's pastoral, wherein her majesty is the prime actress, is extremely long, for my lady marquis's part is as long as an ordinary play.

Sidney Bere, Secretary to Gerbier, the English agent at Brussels, is newly come over with letters to his majesty, wherein some think the archduchess craves his mediation for obtaining a truce or peace with the Hollanders; others, to offer him the possession and protection of the coast towns of Flanders.

Some ten days agone, there was a debate at Newmarket, before the king, whether his ships ought to be manned with for every ton a man, or with a man for every two ton only. Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Sackville Trevor, and others of the old captains, were of the former opinion; and some of the newer captains of the latter; but the king, when he came to town, will add the brethren of the Trinity House to the consultation, and will be judge and umpire himself.

To-day my Lord of Middlesex was to plead his own cause in the Exchequer Chamber, about an account of fourscore thousand pounds that is laid to his charge. How his lordship sped I know not.

Wallenstein for certain is gone into Saxony, and the king they say is marched into Austria to join with the tumultuous boors against the emperor. The King of Bohemia is in the Palatinate, but what he doth I know not. Pappenheim hath raised the siege before Wolfenbuttel; and they say is going about to join with Wallenstein, in counterpoise of whom the king hath sent Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar to aid the Duke of Saxe with ten thousand men.

¹ William Cavendish, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Newcastle; one of the king's most celebrated commanders during the Civil Wars.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 31, 1632.

The best news I can write unto you, at this time, is that the king, God be thanked, is come in good health this afternoon from Newmarket, two days after the queen, who arrived here on Monday. Other news we have not had any from any foreign parts with any certainty, since my last written the last week; men's expectations hanging still upon the motions of the King of Sweden's and Wallenstein's armies in Germany, and upon the success of the negociation and treaty at Maestricht.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Lucy.¹

London, November 1, 1632.

Since my last, Nathaniel Butter told me that a gentleman of his acquaintance having dined this day sennight in company of Mr. Taylor, the archduchess's agent, and asked him the reason of calling in the Currantos, he answered the news was so ill, as the lords would not have it known. And besides, he told me that he would (if he dare be so good as his word) complain to their lordships how much Taylor had abused them in this answer. Besides he is getting to be translated divers Antwerp Currantos, to show their lordships how they lie upon us and our friends, and we in the mean time must be muzzled and our mouths stopped. But yesternight I met him at Whitehall, after he had been in Mr. Secretary Coke's chamber; and he told me he hoped ere long his Currantos would be revived.

My Lord Bishop of Lincoln was at first summoned up to the Star Chamber by a letter from my lord keeper, as peers use to be; but having excused his not coming up for default of health, he was then served with a writ as a common man, to which whether his lordship have yet appeared I know not.

My lord treasurer hath made a new discovery in Scotland of masts to serve any of the king's ships, and of pitch and tar (the trees I mean that do yield them) as much as will serve for the whole kingdom as well for ships as for

¹ Grandson of Shakspeare's Justice Shallow. He was member for Warwickshire in six parliaments.

sheep. I have heard of these commodities talked of to be in Scotland, twenty years ago; and they are now related by some Scotsmen, but the truth lies in the trial.

The two Bristol men, after the expense of two summers in discovering a North West passage, are returned back *re infectá*: only I heard John Tradescant tell my Lord of Ca. that they had discovered an island where were store of unicorns' horns, long and wreathed like that at Windsor, which I have heard to be nothing else but the snout of a fish, yet very precious against poison.

I heard a lord say, yesternight, here is much contention between Captain Porter and Captain Plumley who should be general of those four ships royal (for merchant ships I hear not of), and it is thought Porter will carry it. Nutt the pirate, who hath played freaks any time these two years between the coasts of England and Ireland, and is now at his admiral to ship off thirty-six pieces of ordnance, and his vice-admiral, and scorns to take any other booty but money, hath sent word to my Lord Wentworth, the new lord deputy, that he attends in these seas to waft his lordship over.

Yesternight, his majesty being returned from Newmarket, and having among other lords met with my lord privy seal, did highly congratulate and extol unto his lordship the rare parts of Mr. Walter Montagu, his son, in poetry and otherwise: so that he is a favourite of both their majesties.

Sir John Cassell, that had been kept so long close prisoner, was last Saturday brought forth and examined by my lord treasurer, my Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windbank; and one of the queries was, whether he had any private intelligence with the King of Sweden. One Mr. Palmer, a gentleman of £1200 a-year land lying in Somersetshire and Sussex, is cited by Mr. Attorney into the Star Chamber for having broken his majesty's late proclamation in living here in London, albeit his house in the country be burnt, he being an unmarried man, and one that pretends physic here for his health. There are now, also, in that court bills depending against some of the six clerks, some of the prothonotaries, and the clerks of the

Hanaper, for exorbitant fees: and it is thought that all the ministerial officers of any worth here about London must pass through the same purgatory, it being a fruit of the commission which hath been on foot these three years to make a scrutiny into them.

On Monday, being my lord mayor's day, his lordship seeing the prince stand in a window in Cheapside to behold the pageant, went up to him where he was, and kissed his hand, and the day following, he and the aldermen sent his highness a purse with £5000 in gold therein.

A letter dated in Nuremberg our 5th of October saith, that the king had left his chancellor Oxenstiern in that city with eight regiments to defend it. That Wallenstein was gone directly into Saxony, and the first enterprise he went in hand withal was the besieging of Coburg, a strong fortress of the Duke of Saxe Coburg, who being therein himself sent to his cousin Bernard Duke of Saxe Weimar for aid, who in answer bade him have patience and stand out but four or five days until he could put himself in a readiness, and then he would relieve him, or lose his life. The king, as saith that letter, is gone directly into Bavaria, where he first recovered the town of Rain, being the first he took there; and the only town he put garrison into at his coming away. From thence he marched towards Deckendorff, a town in the Lower Bavaria in the way towards Regensburg and Passau, where met him an ambassador from the revolted boors in Austria; to whom he presently sent commanders, and followed himself with his whole army, to take part with those boors against the emperor. Whereupon they say the emperor demolished the suburbs of Vienna. Yet some say the king is followed after Wallenstein, and think it absurd and senseless for a man to be of any other opinion.

I might have told you more, but that the post of Antwerp is not yet come.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 7, 1632.

Concerning Germany, we hear that Wallenstein is now in the Duchy of Coburg, a part of Saxony, which he hath

miserably wasted and ransacked; and that the King of Sweden, having sent a good number of men to the Duke of Saxony, under the command of the Duke of Weimar, went himself with the rest of his army upon some design towards the Danubius, where the rumour is since (but how true I know not) that he hath taken Ingolstadt. A little while before, the Duke of Bavaria's men having regained the little town of Rain near Donawert, the king did so bestir himself for the importance of the place, which maketh his entrance into Bavaria, as that he recovered it again within three or four days after, and beheaded the governor that had surrendered it. Whereupon the Duke of Bavaria, as we hear, came away from Wallenstein's camp with 20,000 men to the relief of his own country.

Montecuculi, who was lately beaten by Count Gustavus Horne, is with 5000 more at Ratisbon.

I hear that the Duke of Saxony, being much incensed against the emperor for the spoil of his country, hath forbidden, through the same, the use of the ordinary prayers, which were yet made there for him.

Sir Henry Vane hath been a long time at Strasburg, expecting the return of his secretary Curtius from hence, whom we suppose to be by this time with him; so as we shall shortly look for him here: and the said Curtius is gone with a commission to remain agent with the King of Sweden. The King of Bohemia is now in the town of Mentz, and hath sent Colonel Poplitz hither, to see for some immediate help and assistance from hence to finish the recovery of his country; since that the treaty could not take effect with the King of Swedeland.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, November 7, 1632.

I am heartily glad not only to hear of the hope of your own perfect recovery, but also of your little daughter's. That Sir Thomas Lucy is your new sheriff will, I conceive, be no news unto you by that time this comes to your hands. Sir Thomas Wharwood is for Staffordshire and Mr. Manners for Derbyshire. The Earl of Northumber-

land ¹ died at Petworth on Monday night last, about ten of the clock.

One Mr. Palmer, a Sussex gentleman, was this day (November 5) brought *ore tenus* into the Star Chamber for disobeying the proclamation for living in the country, and staying in town all this last vacation, as by his confession to Mr. Attorney upon his examination he had twelve years together, having £600 a-year land in Sussex, no house, and £240 a-year in Somersetshire and an old mansion-house; and that £60 a-year of his rent in Somersetshire was rent of assize. And farther, that for to avoid a composition for knighthood he had pleaded his not having £40 a-year land. Being asked what he had to say for himself, why he should not be censured for his contempt to the aforesaid proclamation, he alleged he never was married, never was housekeeper; indisposition of body, and no house fitting for a man of his birth to live in: and that what he had was burnt, some part of it a year and a half ago with most of his furniture; and he had not as yet done any thing either towards the repair or furnishing it. And some more such excuses; which in the opinions of the Lords did rather aggravate than extenuate his offence, so that he was fined £1000. So you see what is sure to befall such, as shall not observe the proclamation. The churchwardens and constables of every parish are commanded to give in the names of such strangers as live in their parish, and how long they intend so to do.

The great Cardinal of France hath had twice conference with Monsieur, who hath revealed all his copartners and their plots, insomuch as Duke Montmorency and sixty more persons of quality are beheaded thereupon.

The archduchess is still in treaty of peace with the Prince of Orange, and either are met or shortly do meet at the Bourse. Count Henry of Vanderberg hath, they say, two or three towns near Cologne, and some say Cologne itself is besieged by him, and some forces of the King of Sweden. And the Papists do now begin to con-

¹ Henry, ninth earl.

fess that the king is master of the field, notwithstanding their late brags to the contrary.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, November 14, 1632.

Pappenheim is said to have burnt the city of Wolfenbuttel, and rased all the fortifications about it. He is yet in Thuringia and the land of Brunswick, and is now marching to join with Wallenstein. The Prince of Orange, Vanderberg, and General Bannier, with their several great armies, are come before the city of Cologne. They demand, first, 80,000 rix-dollars, which they paid Pappenheim also. Secondly, forty ton of gold for the charges the States have been at before Maestricht, which they would have taken sooner, if Pappenheim had not been. Thirdly, a restitution of all the damages which those countries have sustained by reason of Pappenheim's coming down.

Wallenstein is yet in Saxony and ———, and having forsaken Coburg and divers other towns in Saxony, seems to take his march towards Nuremberg again.

The Duke of Saxony is coming with the Brandenburg forces out of Silesia, to join with the forces of the Duke Weimar, in Saxony. The great city of Breslau, which at last is come to agreement, was the cause why that duke could not sooner depart with his forces out of Silesia. The Swedish general, Dubuld, is left still in Silesia, to prosecute the viceroy, and is now marching towards Moravia.

The emperor hath granted to the boors free exercise of their religion; but they refuse it, and persist in their rebellion. The High German Courants mention 20,000 Transylvanians which their prince, Ragotski, hath sent into Bohemia to aid the King of Sweden. The King of Bohemia is still in the Lower Palatinate, without any forces; and, as the letters speak, *pro hospite agnoscitur*, in his own country.

Some letters, which those of Frankendale sent to the archduchess, have been lately intercepted. They complain exceedingly of their mortality, hunger, nakedness, and other inconveniences; but the King of Bohemia hath no

forces at all to besiege those places. The King of Sweden doth not proceed in his march towards Austria, but is coming down with his greatest forces towards Nuremberg. He hath regained two great towns near Nuremberg, which Wallenstein had lately taken. The whole army marcheth towards Saxony. The king himself went through this city with 500 horse. The Duke of Bavaria is still in his own country, with 10,000 men. General Bannier is left in Bavaria, with 15,000 men, to resist the duke. Gustavus Horne is yet in Alsatia with his army, about Benefield.

The King of Sweden hath levied 10,000 Switzers, which are now on their march. It is said by some letters that the sickness is in Nuremberg and Frankfort. The archduchess hath sent some commissioners to the Bourse to treat of peace. The King of France sends his forces for the most part into Picardy. The Polonians are for certain to make an end of the election of their king this month.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 14, 1632.

Of the Dutch treaties we hear nothing as yet; but, in the mean time, the Prince of Orange hath, with a part of his army, strengthened with some garrisons, taken by force the town of Orsoy, a little above Rhyenberg, and is now, as we hear, besieging the said town of Rhyenberg, having sent up the other part of his army to live and winter in the country of Cologne, in revenge of the passage and favour afforded there to Pappenheim, at his coming down to the relief of Maestricht. To the same end, and for the same cause, Count Henry Vanderberg's troops, on the one side, and Bauditzen, with his forces, on the other, are fallen likewise upon the said country, where Bauditzen hath first taken a strong and rich abbey, called Siburg, and then the town of Lintz which lieth upon the Rhine.¹

The King of Sweden having left Bannier, with 15,000 men, in Bavaria, to make head to that duke, is gone with some 20,000 foot and 6000 horse, to meet with Wallenstein in Saxony, who, upon his coming, withdrew himself into Bohemia, where, we hear, the king is following of him.

¹ The Danube.

Here we begin now to prepare and proceed for the intended journey into Scotland, which, I hear, is to begin the 11th of May next.

Mr. Pory to the Lord Brooke.

London, November 15, 1632.

Mr. Palmer, whom I mentioned in my last to Sir Thomas Lucy, that one calamity might not light on him alone, since his censure in the Star Chamber, is prosecuted by Mr. Attorney, as touching his knighting; for, having formerly pleaded he had not £40 land, and now confessed to Mr. Attorney that he had £600 a-year (his lands, they say, being really worth 1400 per annum) his second plea or request is, he may be legally fined by the barons, and not arbitrarily by the Lords. His younger brother complains of him to the king for having detained from him all this while his inheritance of fourscore pounds a-year; whereby it hath come to pass, that having run unavoidably into debt, and being now prisoner in the King's Bench for it, Mr. Palmer allows him only 20s. a-week to find him victuals.

On Monday, I was told by the clerk of the entries of the Star Chamber, there is now a bill really exhibited into that court against my Lord Bishop of Lincoln, which chargeth his lordship (as the same clerk, upon superficial view, tells me), with spreading false news and rumours, with disclosing secrets out of council, and with extortion in some things while he was lord keeper. The same night, having met with Sir John Eliot's attorney, in Paul's Churchyard, he told me he had been that morning with Sir John in the Tower, and found him so far spent with his consumption, as not like to live a week longer.

I hear that my Lord President of the North hath so scoured the popish recusants of that climate, and hath drawn so much politic blood out of them as amounts to £30,000, and hath sent also Mr. Radcliffe, his forerunner, into Ireland, whom he hath advanced to the place of king's attorney there, to inquire into the state of affairs, thereby to make preparation for his lordship's arrival.

Mr. Treasurer of the Household, Sir Thomas Edmondess, hath been villanously cheated of no less than £2000 by one Mr. Wright, that was a counsellor of Gray's Inn, and clerk of the Commons House of Parliament, and that, as Mr. G. related it unto me, in manner following. When he went ambassador into France, he sold his office of clerk of the crown, and left the said sum of money, *in deposito*, in Mr. Wright's hands, whom he trusted with it even until now of late. But not long since, either hearing that Mr. Wright was sick, or having some occasion to use the money, he despatched a messenger to him for it. Wright, having returned a general and ambiguous answer, in writing, without acknowledging any such sum, or promising of payment, did so startle Mr. Treasurer, as made him go in person to his house, and finding the door shut against him, with this answer, that the man lay drawing on, and would not be disturbed, he threatened to break up their doors; and so they let him in. Then, having demanded his money of Mr. Wright, at his bed's side, he could get no other words from him but, "I pray you pardon me; I beseech your honour to pardon me." Soon after he was gone, Mr. Wright died, and since Sir Thomas hath seized on all those goods of his he can meet withal.

Yesterday, one was recounting unto me all the brave works the Bishop of Lincoln, now called in trouble, hath performed; as, namely, in the first place, three libraries, one at Westminster, a second at Lincoln, and a third (and that a stately one) at St. John's College, in Cambridge, over and besides his reparation of the north side of Westminster Cathedral, and of Lincoln Palace throughout; his maintenance of a number of scholars, as well in his house at Westminster as at the Universities; his building of a square court of stone at Lincoln College, in Oxford; and, which may be *instar omnium*, his purchasing of £300 a-year land, and bestowing it on his present bishopric. And yet must he take up his cross for all that. When the bill was brought unto him by Mr. Attorney's clerk (so Sir C. Y. tells me), he said somewhat merrily to him, "You mistake the party;" quoth he, "this bill belongeth to the Earl of Lincoln, and not to the Bishop." The

messenger replied, "If it please your lordship to peruse it, you shall find it concerns the Bishop only."

Those four of his majesty's ships that have been so long in preparation are now ready to set sail; and they say Captain Plumley (he that ran with his naked sword at Sir Miles Hobart as he sate in the back of his coach) shall go general. And yesterday, I was told that they go neither to be revenged of the Hollanders, for taking my Lord Maltravers's buss, for they humbly beseech a benign interpretation from his majesty of that act, nor against the Turkish men-of-war upon the coast of Ireland, who will not be found there in the midst of winter, nor to fetch Don Ferdinand, the King of Spain's brother, to his government in the Low Countries, being overland already through Italy; but to transport a great mass of money out of Spain to the archduchess, and to countenance a fleet through these seas, to carry men to her also. Whatever it be, the event will discover the plot.

Now, they say, that Nutt the pirate, being cast away upon the coast of Bretagne, but escaping on shore, was, with all his gang of varlets, discovered by the merchants of our nation to the magistrates there, to be pirates, and so were entertained according to their quality.

On Sunday, in the afternoon, and after supper, till midnight, my lord mayor visited as many taverns as he could, and gave warning to the vintners not to suffer any drinking in their houses, either that day or night; and the same afternoon also, he passed Moorfields, and put down the wrestling of the Western with the Northern men, which was there usual on that afternoon.

This other night, being with a privy councillor, he told us, by way of discourse, that my Lord of Northumberland,¹ upon this great change of fortune, must *more majorum* give the king an aid; and the sum his lordship guessed at was £7000, but I hope that noble lord will scape for less.

My Lord H. told me, concerning his friend, the Duke de Montmorency, that he was found content to stand the sentence pronounced against him in Toulouse, without

¹ Algernon, tenth earl.

appealing higher. The king sent him word he should have four days' time to prepare for death: but he made answer, he would not be beholden to the king for four days, no, not for four hours; for, as he was thoroughly prepared, so he desired suddenly to be despatched. When he was mounted upon the scaffold, Père Arnold, his confessor, told him he must put off his doublet: "Yea, hose and all," said he, "if you will; for I am sure we must go naked into Paradise."

The court here is full of it, that Monsieur is once again flown out; some saying he is gone to Bayonne, the next strong town to Spain. But my said lord saith, he was met on this side Paris, coming northward with his favourite Puylaurens.

The bad news out of Germany by this last post is, that the boors of Austria are beaten, though not quite vanquished, by the forces of the emperor. Item, that Wallenstein hath taken and plundered Leipsic, having done the like before to Torgau, and to Coburg, the town, but not the castle, and had, without mercy, overrun a great part of the Duke of Saxe's dominions. But the good news on the other side is, that Duke Bernard of Weimar hath defeated forty cornets of Wallenstein's horse, that should have helped up Pappenheim to have joined with him. And they say Pappenheim hath got a clap from Lunenburg and Kowenhousen. The king is pursuing Wallenstein, with an army of 25,000 men. Bernard Weimar hath another, of 14,000, and Anheim, in Silesia, of 15,000. All which are to meet at a point, or rendezvous, in conjunction against Wallenstein: so as it is thought this winter will decide the controversy either on the one side or on the other.

My said lord tells me, moreover, that the Conde d'Olivares hath a project for maintenance of his master's wars, to suppress all orders of friars and monks in the Low Countries, save Franciscans to preach, and they will preach idolatry and superstition enough; and Jesuits to teach scholars, and they will teach them knavery sufficient. And I hope the residue, when the Conde goes

about it, will curse him well-favouredly with bell, book, and candle.

The treaty at Maestricht is adjourned to the Busse, where it is thought his excellency (who hath lately taken Orsoy, and is now, as they say, besieging Rhyenberg) will winter.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 21, 1632.

For the matters of Germany we have, at this present, such tidings here and of such a nature, as we dare not as yet believe; although the report of them seem to carry much probability with it. Yet this particular I may affirm to be true, that the town of Frankendale hath at length yielded to the King of Bohemia, being forced thereunto by the violence of the plague, which had almost devoured all the men that were in it; and by the extreme want that they were brought to. But that the King of Sweden should have taken from Wallenstein the town of Leipsic, which had newly yielded unto him, and afterwards overthrown him and his whole army, with the slaughter of 15,000 of his men, and the gain of 166 of his colours; it is that which our beliefs stick at, till we have the news thereof confirmed, which are come to divers merchants from Hamburg, by letters dated ten or twelve days since, and brought also by some skippers from Dunkirk. But the truth of such an action cannot long remain in suspense, which I hope the common rumour will come into your parts before my next can come unto you. Sir Henry Vane is newly landed.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, November 21, 1632.

There came news to court on Saturday night, of a great defeat given Wallenstein by the forces of the Duke of Saxony, Brandenburg, Duke Weimar, and some Swedish. The town talks of the killing of 15,000 foot and 1500 horse, and divers colours taken. But all the certainty

that I can inform thereof is, that the chancellor of Sweden hath written to Sir Thomas Roe, that if he should write to him in characters, he could write to him such news as would make his heart leap for joy: but in that his lines might be intercepted, as some formerly had been, he would only write in general that they succeeded as well as heart could wish. The report is here, that Bannier, the Swedish general, offering the inhabitants of Cologne easier conditions than the Prince of Orange or Vanderberg demanded, they have yielded the town to him, and he hath put in garrison for the King of Sweden. And it is seconded this week for certain, that Monsieur, being under the custody of a guard, notwithstanding his betraying of his co-partners, hath made an escape, and is fled to Brussels again.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 28, 1632.

I make no doubt, but that the common rumour hath already carried to your ears the doleful tidings of the lamentable death of that heroical King of Sweden, who hath buried his life in the most glorious, the most bloody victory, that hath been in Christendom these many years. The battle was fought the $\frac{16}{6}$ and $\frac{17}{7}$ of this month, between the towns of Leipsic, which Wallenstein had in his hands, and that of Naumberg, where the king had retrenched himself some four or five Dutch leagues distant the one from the other. Wallenstein having increased his army with Pappenheim's, Helke's, and Galas's forces, all imperial commanders, which could not make it less than 50,000 strong; and I think the king's army was little inferior to it in number, having the Duke of Weimar's and Gustavus Horne's forces with his. The fight began in the morning, between the king and Pappenheim, who held it out a long time against the king; but at length, he being killed with a cannon shot, his men were put to flight, and almost all cut in pieces, till that Wallenstein, coming about noon with his fresh army, stayed the king's pursuit, and set upon him with such a resolution, as that

he maintained the fight with him all the afternoon, till at length some part of it began to give back, and to take to flight; but the other part made good the field, and kept it all night: which the next morning, being set upon by the king's forces, was also utterly defeated; so, as by common report, Wallenstein left there two third parts of his army, and the king no less than one half of his, together with his own person, which was more accounted of than many armies. He was killed the first day of the fight, with three musket-shots; and, as our advertisements do relate, lived thirty-six hours after. But the letters that are come this day out of France, do affirm that, he continuing still in the fight, after he had received all these wounds, was afterwards carried away with a cannon shot, and that his body remained amongst the rest of the dead till the victory was fully gotten. Wallenstein was carried out of the fight, in a litter, much hurt, to Leipsic, where he was presently besieged by the king's army; but what followed or happened since, we do not yet know.

Of what consequence this great accident is like to prove, you may, sir, in your judgment, imagine. Our general fear is, that the fall of that worthy and powerful head, which kept not only the two nations of Germany and Sweden, but the Germans also amongst themselves, in a firm union, will be now the dissolution of that whole body, by the disorders and distractions which will grow, and shall be wrought by their enemies amongst them, unless God do assist them with an extraordinary inspiration.

Sir Henry Vane is newly come back from his embassy, who did much wonder to hear of this battle at his arrival, considering the state wherein he had left the armies at his coming away from thence. The queen-mother was fully resolved to have come over hither; but her departure having been stayed by Monsieur's arrival at Brussels, means have been used in the mean time to prevent her purpose; and now Mr. Murray, of the bedchamber, is sent over to excuse the matter unto her.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, December 3, 1632.

The death of the King of Sweden is now confirmed here by the coming of Dalbier from those parts, who secondeth that ill news with the death of the King of Bohemia,¹ who, in putting a garrison into Frankendale, took the infection of the plague there, and removed to Mentz,² and there died of the sickness. The death of these two kings doth so overjoy the opposite faction, that they report the Duke of Savoy and Count Henry Vanderberg to be dead; and that the King of France, the cardinal, and Prince of Orange, are all dangerously sick.

Dalbier's relation of the battle is, that Wallenstein's forces and Pappenheim's were joined together; that the king's army and theirs were not above 35,000; and that there was not above 5,000 killed in the place of both sides; that the king charged his enemies twice or thrice bravely in his own person; wherein, having received a hurt in the shoulder and breast, he desired Bernard Saxe Weimar to carry him off a while; and as they were turning away, a horseman of the enemy shot the king and Saxe Weimar, and killed him presently. Whereupon the skirmish grew so hot they could not carry the king off till the battle was ended with the death of Pappenheim, the taking of all the enemies' ordnance, bag and baggage, with many colours, and the flying away of Wallenstein into Leipsic, who stole from thence also in the night. Farther, he saith, that it is concluded that that army shall go under the name of the queen, as it did of the king, and that Saxe Weimar is made general thereof. I pray God they have the Elector of Saxony's hearty and constant support thereunto, in that they two have not heretofore so well accorded; which if they now do, the business may prosper: otherwise, it is much to be doubted.

We are now here all in mourning, and the king hath been heavy and ill these ten days; and this day, it is said, it proves to be of the smallpox, and that they begin to come out. I pray God bless and preserve him, and that

¹ He died November 29, it was stated of malignant fever.² Mayence.

he meddle not too much with physick. Mr. Murray is not as yet returned from Brussels from the queen-mother, and I cannot inform you of her coming or no hither.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 5, 1632.

Now, sir, concerning the woful news I wrote unto you by my last of that brave King of Sweden's loss, it is true that there are divers merchants upon the Exchange that offer yet to lay great wagers upon his life. But here, at court, we make no more doubt of his death, having it confirmed (besides the former informations out of the Low Countries and out of France) by the mouth of an eye-witness, to wit, of Dalbier, a man well known in those parts, who, as he reporteth, was in the battle, and came not from the camp till three days after, where he affirmeth that he saw the king's body; which, he saith, was found, after the victory, stripped and naked, amongst the rest of the dead, having his right arm broken with a musket-shot, and a pistol-shot in the body, which gave him his death's wound. And although this happened unto him almost an hour after the fight was begun, yet his men maintained it bravely afterwards five or six hours longer, till they had at length made themselves masters of the field and of the cannon of their enemies, which saved themselves by the favour of the night, there being not, as he reporteth, above five or six thousand dead on both sides upon the place.

What is become of Wallenstein and of his men, he cannot tell; but for those of the other party, he saith, that they presently swore an union amongst themselves for the maintaining of the cause, and revenging that brave king's death, unto whose queen they have taken an oath of obedience, having made Duke Bernard of Weimar general of his army, (who is highly commended for his valour showed in that battle) until by an assembly which they have appointed to be kept shortly at Ulm, there may be a better order taken for the governing and managing of the affairs.

And, as seldom a misfortune cometh single, the same Dalbier brought us also the sad news of the King of Bohemia's death, who died of the plague in the town of Mentz, a fortnight after the King of Sweden, for whom this court began to put on mourning on Sunday last, the king having expressed much sorrow for it, and sent presently Sir Francis Nethersole to his poor desolate sister to afford his best comfort in so great afflictions.

His majesty hath not been well of late, having had first two or three fits of an ague, which is now turned into the smallpox, whereof the first spot began to appear on Saturday at night, as he was going to bed to the queen, having since daily come forth on his body more and more, but very favourable, and, God be thanked, without any fever or appearance of any danger; his majesty having never kept his bed for it.

Sir Robert Anstruther is lately come back, together with my Lord of Leicester, from their several embassages. And here is a rumour that one of them, or Sir Henry Vane, shall be shortly sent back into Germany upon these new alterations, Sir Robert Anstruther having missed by the way of the commission which was thereupon sent him to have stayed him at Hamburg.

Mr. Pory to the Lord Brooke.

London, December 6, 1632.

Being obliged, in your turn, to write to your lordship thither into Warwick, whether you be present or absent, the first thing that proffers itself to my memory is, that my lord mayor, for avoiding a dearth, will not suffer any town-dwellers to sell meal in these markets, but only badgers and mealmen out of the country. On Saturday, my Lord of Leicester and Sir Robert Anstruther landed at Gravesend out of one and the same bottom, after his lordship had ended his embassy with the King of Denmark, and Sir Robert his with the emperor, being now to reside leiger in France:

Those four of his majesty's ships royal which had been so much talked of, and have been so long in providing and

rigging at Chatham, are now at length gone to sea, Captain Plumley, the general, being not to open his commission until he come into the midst of the Channel. I was told this other day by a very knowing man that they are first to take in the queen-mother and Monsieur at Dunkirk, and to carry them into Spain, and then to bring Don Ferdinand, that king's only brother, to his government in the Low Countries. However it be, time will give us the truth of their design.

On Saturday also, his majesty having taken cold after he had heated himself at tennis, some red spots appeared on his face and breast, which by Sunday morning were converted into the smallpox. Yet the queen (as I heard a Frenchman of the court affirm) lay with him both those nights; and since, also, in the daytime, will never be out of his company. This disease makes him not continually to keep his bed, but all the day long he is up in a warm room, with a fur gown on his back, and is merry, and eats and drinks heartily, and recreates himself with some game or other. And so, God be thanked, there is no doubt of danger in him.

On Friday, Dalbier, a German, who was Count Mansfield's paymaster in all his wars, he that should have fetched over the Dutch horse for the late duke from Embden, and which hath served some time under the King of Sweden since his coming into Germany—Dalbier, I say, came to court; and Burlamachi, that accompanied him thither, told me the news he brought out of Dutchland were as followeth: that he was four days in the Swedish army after the battle was fought; that he saw the dead body of the King of Sweden; that Pappenheim, the bravest commander that ever served the emperor, was slain in the same battle; that the Swedish army got the victory; that Wallenstein left his ordnance behind him; that Bernard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, pursued Wallenstein towards Bohemia; that Dalbier, as he passed through Frankfort, understood the Chancellor Oxenstiern was gone up to consult with the Duke Elector of Saxony about the carriage of the main business; and that when Dalbier was come to Mentz he found the King of Bohemia dead there of the

plague, which he had gotten at Frankfort. Thus far Burlamachi.

The manner of the King of Sweden's death he thus describes; I mean, Dalbier. The king, saith he, being shot on the arm with a pistol, called to his cousin Bernard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, to make way for his retreat, that he might go and dress his wound. But, as the word was in his mouth, a horseman of the enemy, prying the king stedfastly in the face, said, "You are the bird we have so long looked for;" and with that shot him through the body with a brace of bullets, so that the king fell off his horse stark dead, and Duke Bernard slew the man that had thus killed him. But that which sounds harsh and incredible in all men's ears, is that the king's body, thus falling, should be so much neglected, as to be left all day and all night in the field, and to be found next morning stripped stark naked among the promiscuous carcasses. But Browne, that arrived here on Saturday, being sent post by Curtius, the king's agent, from Frankfort, contradicts Dalbier in this, saying the king's corpse, so soon as ever it fell, was laid in a waggon, and that, being since embalmed, it is carried along with the army as an incentive to stir up his soldiers to revenge his blood. Both do agree that the king, by his last will and testament, constituted the queen his wife to succeed him in authority, and ordered a council of war continually to attend her, that she might sign and confirm all their despatches and resolutions.

If the King of Bohemia be dead, the emperor hath a great advantage thereby, because there is none now living but himself that hath any title to that so long controverted crown. Besides, upon that king's death, our king and state are obliged to do more for a nephew than for a brother-in-law, and more likewise for a widow than for a wife. Well, the mourning here in court for both kings began on Sunday, and is to continue until New-year's day. And yet some, and those not a few, are so incredulous, as they will not believe the death of either; for yesterday there came letters to town from Amsterdam, Haarlem, the Hague, and Delft, which affirmed the King of Sweden to be alive, though those from Antwerp said

the contrary. Yesterday there was at least £200 laid in wagers that he is still alive. Mr. James Maxwell's brother, hearing them there yesterday affirm the king's life so confidently, said he would lay ten to one the king was dead: such a throng of people came about him with gold in their hands as almost put him out of countenance, and made him glad to accept no more but three pieces. At night, with the tide, arrived from Delft a servant of one Mr. Berrington, a merchant-adventurer, who saith, that letters from Leipsic and Magdeburg do avow the king to be alive; and that the reason why it was generally thought he was dead was, because so soon as he was hurt he retired into his tent, and kept himself close there for two days under the surgeon's hands.

Some friends of mine do tell me there will shortly be a parliament, for establishing the young Count Palatine in his inheritance; which, if it come to pass, the king's journey into Scotland must be prorogued until another year, notwithstanding the gestes thereof be already set down.

On Sunday, the Duchess of Richmond sent to her godson, my Lord of Carnarvon's child, a font of silver, for him to be christened in, and two college pots: one for the nurse, and another for the midwife.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 12-22, 1632.

I suppose you have been sufficiently informed by my former of the unfortunate death of that brave King of Swedeland, which is now daily confirmed from all parts, and that he died upon the field of a pistol-shot into the head, after he had received two musket-shots in other parts of his body. But that which made it so variously reported of was, the policy and care which the chief men of his army had to conceal it as long as they could, lest it should discourage their soldiers, and give advantage to their enemies, who suffered a greater loss in that battle than Dalbier reported, and were forced to leave the town of Leipsic four days after it, although they kept still

the castle, which hitherto we do not hear that they have surrendered.

Wallenstein, with the rest of his army, retired towards Bohemia, and, as we hear, made a stand in the towns of Shreberg¹ and Chemnitz, whither it is reported that the princes pursued him, and that they have pitched their camp against them in those parts.

The king, God be thanked, is well recovered of his smallpox, and is now ready to come abroad. Sir Robert Anstruther is making ready to go back presently into Germany upon these new occasions.

Mr. Pory to . . .

London, December 13, 1632.

Since the writing of my last, I am given to understand that Sir Robert Anstruther, though newly come home, is with all speed to return into Germany ambassador from his majesty to the Princes of the Evangelical Union, who are to meet in Frankfort, and to hold a diet there, so the plague do not hinder them, upon the 6th of January; and they say the French king, to observe their proceedings, and have an oar in the business, will lodge himself with an army at Metz. I hear those four ships royal, that have been so long spoken of, are not gone a northern course, as towards Dunkirk, but have stood a western way, towards Plymouth, Falmouth, &c.

Sir W. C.² writes from Brussels, that the French there, with the queen-mother and monsieur, made account to have kept a brave Christmas here at London, and for that purpose had trussed up their trinkets half topmast high; but it seemeth they reckoned before their host that should have been, K. C.,³ and that Mr. William Murray, of the bedchamber, was not sent to the queen-mother in vain.

A gentleman, not unknown to Sir Thomas Lucy, told me from my Lord Cottington's mouth, that Sir John Eliot's

¹ We have not been able to identify this place, as it is not in the map: but such singular liberties were at this period taken with the orthography of proper names, that this difficulty is by no means of unusual occurrence.

² William Curtius.

³ King Charles.

late manner of proceeding was this. He first presented a petition to his majesty by the hand of the lieutenant, his keeper, to this effect:—"Sir, your judges have committed me to prison here in the Tower of London, where by reason of the quality of the air I am fallen into a dangerous disease. I humbly beseech your majesty you will command your judges to set me at liberty, that for recovery of my health I may take some fresh air," &c. Whereunto his majesty's answer was, "It was not humble enough." Then Sir John sent another petition by his own son, to the effect following:—"Sir, I am heartily sorry I have displeased your majesty, and, having so said, do humbly beseech you once again to command your judges to set me at liberty, that when I have recovered my health I may return back to my prison, there to undergo such punishment as God hath allotted unto me," &c. Upon this the lieutenant came, and expostulated with him, saying, it was proper to him, and common to no man else, to do that office of delivering petitions for his prisoners. And if Sir John, in a third petition, would humble himself to his majesty, in acknowledging his fault and craving pardon, he would willingly deliver it, and made no doubt but he should obtain his liberty. Unto this Sir John's answer was:—"I thank you, sir, for your friendly advice, but my spirits are grown feeble and faint; which, when it shall please God to restore unto their former vigour, I will take it farther into my consideration." Sir John dying not long after, his son petitioned his majesty once more, he would be pleased to permit his body to be carried into Cornwall, there to be buried. Whereunto was answered, at the foot of the petition, "Let Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died."¹

¹ One of the most active originators of "Progress" in the seventeenth century was a Cornish gentleman of the name of Elliott, who, having stabbed a man in a quarrel, hastened to London, with the object of getting the favourite Buckingham, with whom he had been intimate, to shield him from punishment. He got off with a heavy fine. The wounded man recovered, and on applying for a return of the money Eliot had paid, under the belief that the blow had been fatal, he was forced to be satisfied with the honour of knighthood. Sir John, however, received other dignities, such as the posts of vice-admiral of Cornwall, and chairman of the committee of Stannaries, and was unquestionably bound to the court, till some private quarrel with his patron caused him to become one of the most active members of the patriotic party in the House of Commons; and the reader must have noticed with what spirit he led the opposition measures, and with what

The next week, Currantos shall be permitted to be published; but some men say, now that incomparable king is dead, they will buy no more. On Sunday was sennight, that famous divine, Mr. Holdisworth,¹ promised his auditory, that up on Sunday last he would preach a funeral sermon in lamentation of the death of that brave king. But when Sunday was come, he treated upon another argument, because, said he, the news of his death had all that week been so neutral and uncertain; for upon yesterday was sennight, at nine o'clock at night, it pleased his majesty to send his coach for one Mr. Lowe, deputy for our merchant-adventurers at Delft, to relate unto him what he had told some of his friends upon his late arrival from thence, namely, that a little before his coming away there was a man came to Delft (and he seemed to be a man of quality, as being attended by three servants), who affirmed, that three days after the battle he saw the King of Sweden sitting, with his arm in a blue scarf, at a sermon and thanksgiving for the victory; that he had the honour to kiss his hand, and left him alive and well; but when he was come some ten miles from the place, there he found rumours spread of his death, which accompanied him all the way into Holland. The reason whereof, he said, might be, because the king, for two days after he was hurt, remained close in his tent, under the surgeon's hand, which made the generality believe he was dead. Adventure his life against nothing, this man said he would not; but if the magistrates, or any other in Delft, would put 1000 guilders (that is to say, £100 sterling) into his hand, he would pawn his head against the king was then alive. Upon this report, Dalbier, being interrogated anew, was so impudent as to deny some part of what he had said before some of the lords, namely, that the King of Sweden's body (and that in so well-disciplined an

courage he endured the persecution they brought upon him. He possessed considerable literary as well as oratorical talent, evidences of which are to be found in certain satirical effusions, entitled "Verses, being chiefly invectives against the Duke of Buckingham," and a treatise, called "The Monarchie of Man," which he wrote whilst a prisoner in the Tower. The injustice to which he at last fell a victim, and the unfeeling answer of the king to the application of his family for his corpse, are among the least excusable of the many ill-judged acts of this unfortunate monarch.

¹ Rector of St. Peter's Poor.

army) lay neglected in the place where it fell all that day and the night following, and was found next day, stripped stark naked, among the vulgar; and that he saw it so, and kissed the wounds of it. But what would you have more from a dresser of felts at Strasburg, for so Sir Thomas Roe saith originally he was, which is not so noble as a maker of felts or a knitter of caps; and that his wife, in a red waistcoat, sued to him once, as he passed through Strasburg, to be a means to her husband, while he was all in his bravery, to allow her but two dollars a week, and she should think herself a very happy woman.

Upon the report of Mr. Lowe, there was upon the Exchange, for Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, such and so many wagers laid upon the life and death of the King of Sweden, as never the like was seen; and upon Thursday, from two hours before day until night, here was ringing of bells in one place or other for joy of the good news. Yea, healths in many places were drunk to that good king; and, some people, had they not been better advised by their discreeter neighbours, had made bonfires that night. I had almost forgot to tell you that his majesty, the same night Mr. Lowe was with him, took of his servants, and others that were about him, seventy pieces, to render to every man an hundred for one (that is to say, 7000 in the sum total), in case the King of Sweden were dead.

But the prettiest imposture of all happened on Monday morning. Where Justice Long had swallowed it, I know not; but he gave it my Lord Chief Justice Richardson, and through him unto all Sergeant's Inn. His lordship sent it instantly to the master of the rolls, and he to my lord keeper, and it flew as swift as lightning from one end of the town to another. And what was it, think you, but that the king, having that morning received certain news of the King of Sweden's being alive, had reprieved and pardoned these fourteen prisoners which had been condemned at Newgate sessions on Saturday, and were presently to be executed? True it is, those fourteen were reprieved and pardoned (whereof eight were women), but merely at the queen's suit, and upon occasion of the king's

recovery from the smallpox, whereof (they came forth of his body in great abundance), his majesty, God be thanked, was never sick.

But since, the king's death is most certainly confirmed, not only by an express to the Holland ambassador, but by another also to his majesty from Curtius, his agent, not now at Frankfort as formerly, but in the Swedish army; so that now there is no more wagering of the business. The Queen of Sweden, being a most disconsolate lady, and the Chancellor Oxenstiern, are now at Erfurt. Duke Bernard of Weimar, being general of the Swedish army, hath given Wallenstein a second overthrow at Swickaw, in his way to Bohemia. The Elector of Saxe was battering his own castle of Leipsic, held from him by the Imperials, and Bannier had slain 4000 of the Duke of Bavaria's men.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 3, 1632-3.

Though I have no answer of my last Thursday's letter to my noble Lord Brooke, yet, in hope you also and Mr. High Sheriff¹ had your shares thereof, I now begin where then I ended; letting you know, in the first place, that, after I had then written, the first news I heard was that my Lord of Arundel was passed through Cheapside, onward of his journey towards the Hague, whither his lordship, as I am told, goes ambassador extraordinary to condole with the Queen of Bohemia, under the same title and appellation, for the death of her husband; and to the States-General also to treat with them about means how to establish the young Prince Palatine, her eldest son, in his inheritance, and to secure the queen's jointure in the Palatinate to her, as also concerning the fishing upon our coast, for which purpose old Sir William Monson, that hath been a great projector in that business, is gone along; and besides whom, I named in my last the young Lord Sheffield, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, and two of the heralds, as, namely, Neve, York herald, and Philpot, Somerset herald.

¹ Sir Thomas Lucy.

His lordship set sail, with a fair wind, upon Sunday, at two in the afternoon, and there is no doubt, by the grace of God, but he is ere this got to the Hague.

In case the queen do come for England, I hear that her lodging appointed in court is the Cockpit, at Whitehall, where she lay when she was a maid; and, in the country, is assigned her his majesty's house at Eltham. With my Lord of Arundel, in this fleet, is gone Sir Robert Anstruther, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary also to the Diet in Germany, which, they say, is to be holden at Wittenburg, where the King of Sweden's body lies embalmed, being attended by a guard of 2000 men. One mad fellow writes from thence, that the princes have made them black banners mingled with red, intimating blood and revenge for that king's death; and that they have vowed one to another, they will not abandon the cause until they have buried that renowned corpse in Vienna. I have been told also by a courtier, that Sir Robert Anstruther carries with him fifty-eight letters of credence to several princes and great personages now in Germany.

The French king, for his ambassador, sends thither the Marshal de la Force, to animate those princes against the House of Austria, and to promise them all the aid and assistance he can give them. And the more to encourage the same marshal, he hath bestowed on him all the offices and charges of the late Duke of Montmorency, in Languedoc, which is a very good exchange for the Protestants there, that, from under the government of their professed and active enemy, are come to be governed by their true and real friend. I hear also that the French king hath sent to the Duke of Rohan, general of his army in the Valtoline, a fresh supply of 16,000 men; and also that the French have taken Oudenheim, in the Lower Palatinate, a fortress belonging to the Elector of Treves. The Duke Elector of Saxe, I hear, is so forward to hearken unto the French king's motion, as he hath vowed to spend all his treasure rather than that the House of Austria should any longer domineer.

But once more to look homeward to ourselves, on Christmas day, not only Bishop White, the almoner, in his

morning sermon to the household, but the Bishop of London also in his, some two hours after to the king, made sharp invectives against some points of popery; and, which was much marvelled at by the auditory, quoted Calvin divers times with a great deal of respect; which, when Ph. Burlamachi was told, in my presence, he said it was a good julep against a parliament.

On Wednesday next, the queen's pastoral is to be acted in the lower court of Denmark House, and my lord chamberlain saith that no chambermaid shall enter, unless she will sit cross-legged on the top of a bulk. No great lady shall be kept out, though she have but mean apparel, and a worse face, and no inferior lady or woman shall be let in, but such as have extreme brave apparel and better faces.

Yesterday, one showed me the copy of a letter from the King of Sweden to the King of Bohemia, dated at Armstadt, November 28, but eight days before he was slain in battle, wherein he taxeth the King of Bohemia of too much distrust and incredulity, in that he was jealous the King of Sweden would detain from him his dominions, or any part thereof, and assureth him, upon the word of a king, that, if God did lend him life, he would, without expecting any recompense or reimbursement for his own pains, or for the sweat, money, and blood, that had been and should yet be spent for the recovery of those places, restore him entirely to all, that did formerly of right belong unto him, or was ever in his possession, only upon these two conditions, first, that he should, throughout his Palatinate, allow the King of Sweden's, that is to say, the Lutheran religion, to all that had a mind to profess it; and, secondly, that the King of Bohemia should acknowledge him, and no man else, his restorer.

The Chancellor Oxenstiern, for his service and industry, since the king's death, is to be loved and admired by all such as are lovers of the good cause, left by the late king, of famous memory, under his charge and tuition, namely, setting up the Germanic liberty, and levelling of the House of Austria. For the first thing he did, so soon as he was sure of the king's death, was his passing with incredible celerity from town to town, and from city to city (not

omitting the least fort or sconce), and his swearing both the civil magistrate and military officer unto the allegiance of the queen; whereby he settled their minds, and kept them from revolting, as the enemy expected they would have done, whensoever God should call Gustavus Adolphus from among them. And therefore it is verily thought the princes at the Diet will choose him director of the war. Yet the papists here do report he is taken prisoner; but upon what grounds, I know not, no more than where Taylour, the archduchess's agent, should find that, upon that bloody day of the 6th of November, Wallenstein went off with the victory. For, if he did, it was but a poor one, when he was fain, not for triumph or joy, but for haste and fear, to run away with it, and the next morning, to leave the Imperial garrison within the town of Leipsic to a breakfast of cutting of their throats; the Wallensteiners in the castle also having since yielded to Colonel Knippenhausen upon composition.

Frankendale was delivered up by the Spaniards into the hands of the Swedes, upon the 24th of November, when the garrison that marched out were 1300 foot and 70 horse, with five pieces of ordnance, having left many more pieces behind them than they found there at their first taking it, and great quantity of munition. Heidelberg was then also [surrendered] upon terms of composition, it being resolved, so soon as the Spaniards were out, that the King of Bohemia's corpse should be brought in to be interred by his grandfather there.

In the room of Pappenheim, deceased, is risen up his lieutenant-general, the Count of Gronsfeld, who was lately marching to Cologne, to guard it and Bonn from General Bauditzen, who had received his ordnance from Mentz. Gustavus Horne hath lately taken Stickstat and Colnar, in Alsatia; and his general of horse, the Rhingrave Otto, hath defeated a Marquis of Baden.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 10, 1632-3.

Being now much distracted for the king's service, I cannot make so full an answer to your kind letter as otherwise I

would have done; although for the present the occasions of writing be not very rife, and seem to cool with the weather; all foreign actions of war being now, in a manner, at a stay till the spring revive them again, and bring forth the effect of the consultations which are now in hand both in France, Germany, and the Low Countries. Only, I hear, that Count Gustavus Horne goeth on still in his conquests in Alsatia, having lately taken the towns of Colmar and Hagenau, so as there remains no more but the town of Brisac, of all that rich province, to be conquered. Likewise, in the country of Cologne, Bauditzen hath taken divers places, and, amongst the rest, the town of Manheim, within a league of that great city, which is thereby much straitened and troubled. The Elector of Saxony, as we hear, is levying ten new regiments for the prosecution of the war.

Here we are in expectation of the coming shortly of the Queen of Bohemia, who hath now given assurance thereof, but doth not intend, as I hear, to make any long abode amongst us. This night, our queen hath acted her costly pastoral in Somerset House, which hath lasted seven or eight hours.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 16, 1633.

There being no letters come yet from my Lord of Arundel since his departure from hence, we have as yet no further assurance of the Queen of Bohemia's coming over, than as we hear it from other hands that she hath accepted of the king's brotherly invitation; and that she doth intend to come after she hath taken order in some necessary businesses which she hath in those parts; but whether with a resolution to continue her abode here or not, it is doubtful.

Upon the return of the deputies that were sent by the Flemish commissioners to Brussels, with a fuller commission, they go now in hand with that treaty at the Hague; but, in all men's opinion, with small likelihood of any success.

In Germany, the emperor bestirreth himself every way

to take advantage of the King of Sweden's death, having not only delivered out a great number of commissions for the raising of men, to be commanded by Wallenstein, who is risen again from the dead, but also sent divers messengers to the confederate princes, to treat severally with them, and to withdraw them, or as many of them as he can, from their union; whilst, in the mean time, he doth employ the Landgrave of Darmstadt to treat openly with the Elector of Saxony, his father-in-law, and with the other princes, about a general peace. For the opposing of which practices and frustrating them, the King of France hath given the princes assurance of a royal assistance, if they will stick fast in their union, and make choice of an able leader for the war, having to that end sent one Monsieur de Feuquières to the Elector of Saxony and other princes, and one Monsieur de l'Isle to the city of Strasburg, and other towns. He hath also sent Mons. de Charnassé to the States, and doth intend, as I hear, to come himself to Metz with an army.

The Duke of Bavaria hath delivered out many commissions for the raising of men, to free his country of those forces which the Palatine of Berkenfeld hath in those parts. The Count of Horne is still going forward, having lately taken the town of Friburg, and blocked up Brisac; so as he may shortly join forces with the said Duke of Berkenfeld against the Duke of Bavaria. But General Bauditzen is like to be sorely set upon in the country of Cologne, not only by the Count of Gronsfeld, Pappenheim's lieutenant and successor, but by a good number of Spaniards, which are gone out of Flanders and Lunenburg against them. At whose heels the Prince of Orange, on the other side, hath set the Duke of Bouillon, with a good number of horse and foot.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 23, 1632-3.

My Lord Goring, and Sir Francis Nethersole, being come back on Sunday last, out of Holland, have seconded and confirmed the advertisement which the Earl of Arundel

(who stayeth yet behind) had sent two days before, that the Queen of Bohemia having accepted for her own person, with all thankful acknowledgment, the favour of his majesty's kind and brotherly invitation for her return hither, hath, nevertheless, excused herself from her coming till his majesty's return out of Scotland, in respect of her children, whose occasions and interests (which she is to regard above any other things in this world) stand now in such need of her personal assistance, as that she cannot so soon leave those parts, without an extreme prejudice to their affairs. Which excuse his majesty hath favourably accepted of; having, out of his tender affection, seasoned his invitation with the proffer of this free choice unto her, either to come or to stay, and to come either alone or with her children, or with as many and such of them as she would be pleased.

I hear that the States and the Prince of Orange do take a particular care of those young princes, and have resolved never to conclude the treaty which they have in hand, unless they be fully restored to their rights and possessions.

Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 24, 1632-3.

Since my last unto my Lord Brooke, I am given to understand that not only many subpœnas have been made to summon such into the Star Chamber, as have been delinquents against his majesty's proclamation, by their abode in town, but the greatest part have been served also upon such as could be met withal. My Lord Bishop of Lincoln, notwithstanding the last term's Star Chamber Bill put in against him were overthrown by a demurrer, and taken off the file, is against this term cited, both by letter and subpœna, to appear and answer in that court to a new Bill which Mr. Attorney hath framed against him.

On Monday, Sir Francis Stanley, brother to my Lord Strange, and second son to the Earl of Derby, died of the smallpox, which he got by visiting of a great person¹ that was lately infected with that disease.

¹ Probably, the king.

Mr. Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, hath been examined by one of the secretaries about his "Histriomastrix," that voluminous invective against all manner of interludes and stage-plays, and is to be prosecuted in the high commission thereabouts. Mr. Noel,¹ son and heir to the Lord Viscount Campden, who on Christmas day was married at court to the Lady Anne Fielding,² hath lost at tennis (in one day, as I take it) to my Lord of Carnarvon, my Lord Rich, and other young gallants, £2500; her portion, which his majesty gave with her, not exceeding £3000.

On Sunday, my Lord Goring and Sir Francis Nethersole returned hither from the Queen of Bohemia, bringing news, as I hear, that besides her present indisposition, both of body and mind, to undertake such a journey by sea in the midst of winter, it now behoved her most especially to keep on that side the sea, that, over and besides the aid which his majesty may vouchsafe her, she might continually be at hand to solicit the interest of the Prince Palatine her son, as well with the States'-General as with the princes of Germany: and, in case she should come over at all, yet doth she not think it fitting to come over until his majesty be returned out of Scotland.

On Monday, in the afternoon, there were two controversies in agitation before his majesty and the lords at the council-board. One between my lord chamberlain, as lord warden of the Stanneries, and Sir Thomas Richardson, as lord chief justice of the King's Bench: and the other between Sir Henry Martin, judge of the Admiralty, and the said lord chief justice; and all about prohibitions. As touching the first, my lord chamberlain complained that, whereas suits that merely concerned the tin-mines in Cornwall might be most speedily and impartially decided by juries upon the place, which were acquainted with the business; such as were officers there, and could not be spared, were often by prohibitions called up hither, a journey almost of three hundred miles, and then

¹ Baptist, second Baron Noel, and third Viscount Campden, who died October 29, 1683, at the age of seventy-one. He was a faithful partizan of Charles.

² Second daughter of William Earl of Denbigh.

held there, God knows how long, for a despatch, the verdict being referred to a jury of Middlesex, who are mainly ignorant of the tin business. So it was resolved, and the judges commanded, that no more prohibitions should be sent to the Court of the Stanneries. Concerning the second controversy, Sir Henry Martin said, he had often besought his majesty to put some other into his place; because, by reason of prohibitions out of those superior courts, he could not do his majesty or the subject that service which he desired. And he said, farther, that if their prohibitions continued as frequent as they were wont to be, once within seven years there would be never a ship left in this river to go to sea: for the proceeding in the Admiralty is so summary, as in three court days any ordinary cause may be determined, and so merchants and seafaring men quickly set free to go about their business; whereas, in the superior courts, it will be at least a year's work; and, in the meanwhile, the master and chief mariners are kept idle from sea, the ship lies rotting by the walls, navigation is hindered, and trade is overthrown. The judges answered, they were bound, by their oaths, to do as they did; and, therefore, could not deny any subject a prohibition, that should require it at their hands. Besides that most, if not all, of those suits that were drawn out of the Admiralty, by prohibition, did concern some contract or other, which is an object most peculiar to their common law. Here Sir Henry Martin distinguished between a contract made, and a contract rising. A contract perfectly made, he acknowledged for the object of their law: but a contract between merchants and mariners was still rising, and not perfected until the voyage were ended. Then Judge Jones said he would gladly know, whether prohibitions were *de jure*, or *de gratiá*? If they were *de jure*, then, he said, before he could deny any that were asked of him, he must entreat my Lord of London to absolve him of his oath. The bishop, as having by this request too much of the Pope put upon him, was so surprised with choler, as for a while he could not open his mouth to speak. At last, having paid Justice Jones home for his dilemma, as he called it,

he told him there was another way to the "wood" besides prohibition; which was far the more just and equitable. And this Sir Henry Martin explained to be that, after a sentence given, and the same sentence performed and executed in the Admiralty Court, then might the party grieved appeal to one of those superior courts. And if the sentence were there found to be unjust, then was the party satisfied to pay double to his adversary of what the sentence had been allotted him; and the judge was, at his majesty's mercy, to censure him as he pleased.

And here, by the way, I had almost forgot to tell you how much both his majesty, my lord treasurer, my lord privy seal, and others, did cry down prohibitions *de jure*; affirming, that all prohibitions were *de gratiá*; and that the judge, *salvo juramento*, might indifferently either grant or deny them. Then, his majesty told the judges he would have them no more to bring his River of Thames, namely, below the bridge, into the county of Middlesex, by a figure, which they call *fictio juris*; but that he would have his river as free from their jurisdiction as the main ocean sea is, or ought to be. In fine, my lord treasurer, my Lord of London, Sir Henry Martin, and Mr. Attorney, were appointed a committee, to consider of Rules and Orders how the Admiralty might comport itself towards those superior courts, and those towards it.

Those brave monsieurs in France do, for the present, discourse of nothing so much as of an infallibility that their king must be emperor; and no man dare contradict them, unless he will run the hazard of a duel. And if his great Cardinal Richelieu chance to be Pope at the same time, what will not they two attempt for the honour and ingrandizing of the nation. "*Mai dal detto al fatto vi e gran tratto.*"

In a letter, written at Brussels, on Saturday was sent, I have read, that the Duke of Arschot, the Archbishop of Mechlin, and the Pensioner of Antwerp, who were sent before Christmas out of the body of their fellow-deputies, now treating at the Hague, to fetch conclusive instructions, either for a peace or truce, are still in Brussels, attending the return of a courier from Spain, sent to fetch

new directions. For their said deputies, the States-General, now assembled at Brussels, have laboured to obtain *plenitudinem potestatis*, namely, that they might freely conclude whatsoever they should in their discretion think available for their country. But the Spaniards do not like such an unbridled power. The same letter tells me, also, that about a fortnight ago, the inhabitants of Brussels, in a general assembly, declared and promised, that whatsoever the States-General there should conclude or determine, they would give their consent and obedience thereunto. And it saith, farther, that in imitation of this, all the rest of the towns in those provinces will do the like, which I apprehend a fair preparative of turning the Spaniards out of the Low Countries.

Though they now treat of peace, yet both sides, I mean, Holland and Spain, do mutually prepare for war.

*Justinian Paget, Esq., to James Harrington, Esq., at
Walton-upon-Trent.*

From the Middle Temple, January 28, 1633.

I hear it from a gentleman of credit that at Cambridge, about a fortnight since, a hog ate up a child lying in the cradle.

Mr. Prynne of Lincoln's Inn hath lately set forth a book entitled "Histriomatrix, or the Players' Scourge," the sale of which is prohibited, and he to appear at the high commission on Thursday next, where, when I have heard what is charged against him, I will, if you desire it, send you a more particular relation. His book is extraordinarily stuffed with quotations of old authors, which they say are his only arguments. He cites St. Austin, who saith, "*Si tantum modo boni et honesti viri in civitate essent, nec in rebus humanis Ludi Scenici esse debuissent.*" But I do not conceive this to be the only cause why he is called in question, but rather some exorbitant passage concerning ecclesiastical government; for I hear he compares the playing on the organs between the first and second lesson, to interludes and stage plays. It is observable that his book

was published the day after the queen's pastoral at Somerset House.

If you please to lend me Sir Kenelm Digby's mathematical discourse, which you once told me of, I shall receive it as a special favour.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, January 31, 1632-3.

There is very little more news this week than I found at my coming to town, and therefore might I imagine that you had as much the last week, or the same, which I now can send. Yet, to show myself not slothfuller than heretofore to do you any service I can here, I have adventured to inform what I have learned, viz:—That the Queen of Bohemia prays the king's pardon for not coming into England at this present, in that she much desires that their meeting might be without any mixture of mourning at all, which her late great loss will not as yet permit her to perform. Besides the States and princes in those parts offering to go up into the Palatinate with the young prince her son, and to establish him in some part of his inheritance this next summer, it might seem some neglect in her to depart thence before the expiration of so short a time. That the States have broke off the treaty of peace, and intend to be in the field very early this year, and to maintain four thousand horse more than heretofore, whereof they raise two thousand of their own: the other two thousand from the Duke of Bouillon, whom they have made governor of Maestricht.

The messenger which was sent to learn the truth of the battle, and of the King of Sweden's death, came to town upon Saturday night; but I have not as yet heard any relation he hath made thereof.

The news from those parts which I hear is, that the Jesuits, endeavouring to increase the dissension betwixt the Lutheran and Calvinist princes, hath caused them to link themselves in a more accord than heretofore. That the Duke-Elector of Saxony hath made his three sons take an oath to maintain a war against the House of Austria to

revenge the King of Sweden's death, who lost his life in defence of them and their possessions. And that the King of France, offering the Duke of Bavaria to secure his own dukedom unto him if he would leave the emperor and side with him, and the duke desiring to consent thereunto, hath sent two thousand horse and three thousand foot to join with Gustavus Horne's forces, who is lately come into Bavaria out of Alsatia.

And whereas it hath heretofore been voiced in what discontent the King of Bohemia departed from the King of Sweden, I have sent you the copy of a letter which the King of Sweden wrote, as it seems, in answer to a letter which he had formerly received from the King of Bohemia, wherein, in my opinion, he gives no cause of discontent to the King of Bohemia.

The Duchess of Buckingham hath put in an information into the court of Wards, against the now Earl of Rutland, whereby she endeavours to overthrow the late earl her father's will, and thereby to recover all his personal estate, with the Castle of Belvoir, and divers other lands, as heir general, from the new earl.

Mr. Prynne, an utter-barrister of Lincoln's Inn, is brought into the High Commission Court and Star Chamber, for publishing a book, a little before the queen's acting of her play, of the unlawfulness of plays; wherein in the table of his book and his brief additions thereunto he hath these words, "Women actors notorious whores;" and that St. Paul prohibits women to speak publicly in the church, "and dares then," saith he, "any christian woman be so more than whorishly impudent, as to act, to speak publicly on a stage (perchance in man's apparel and cut hair) in the presence of sundry men and women?" Which words, it is thought by some, will cost him his ears, or heavily punished, and deeply fined.¹ Mr. Attorney is very strict in prosecuting all sort of men and women for staying in town

¹ The writer's anticipations were well grounded. Prynne had not only attacked the diversions of the court—he had been equally severe on those of the church, and Laud was implacable; but though the church and court mutilated, fined, and imprisoned him with a vengeance truly savage, they did not succeed in extinguishing his spirit. While in prison, he issued a pamphlet, in which he attacked clerical abuses with greater bitterness than ever.

contrary to the proclamation. And there is process forth against many, whereof I have sent my brother Gibbs a copy.

*Justinian Paget, Esq., to his uncle, Dr. Charles Twysden.*¹

February 2, 1633.

That which commands my pen's service at this time is a notorious cause which I heard on Thursday last, at the high commission at Lambeth, which, as my weak memory will help me, I relate to you. Mr. Bernard, late lecturer at St. Sepulchre's church, was informed against by the University of Cambridge in several articles, as follows, viz:—1st. That he having obtained the favour to preach at St. Mary's last summer, he used these scandalous words concerning the queen, viz:—"Lord, open her eyes, that she may see her Saviour, whom she hath pierced with her superstition and idolatry."

2nd. That in his sermon he said there is a broad difference between the substance of religion and the purity thereof.

3rd. That in his said sermon he taxed the university of idolatry, saying, "he that bows to the high altar is an idolator, and whether there be any such here you know best yourselves."

4th. That he said these treasonable words, viz:—"You think treason to be only against the king, but I can tell you of a far worse treason than that, to wit, the treason against the commonwealth, which is so much the worse, by how much the body is better than a member, and the whole is better than a part."

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering.

Essex House, February 6, 1632-3.

I have received the letter you sent by Mr. Hunt, the contents whereof gives me just cause both to acknowledge and to strive to deserve your voluntary courtesy therein. I hoped to have sent you, this week, a very true relation

¹ Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of Coventry and Litchfield.

which is lately come over of the King of Sweden's death and battle. But Butter having got it to his hands, and thinking to have printed it, it is there stopped both from publishing it in print or copying.

The news of the princes of Germany is, that business succeeds well amongst them; for that the princes have sworn to be faithful and hold constantly together; and that if any one fails, they will all fall upon him; and that they have sent to Marquis Darmstadt (if I mistake not his name) who hath hitherto kept himself a neuter, and since the king's death been with the emperor, to leave off his negotiation with him, or they will presently drive him out of his territories. And the Duke-Elector of Saxony hath given the country of Franconia to Saxe Weimar, to salve all fractions which might arise betwixt them. There is also a rumour that the Queen of Sweden should be lately brought to bed of a prince, and dead in childbed.

Here came to town on Monday last an ambassador from Poland, and had audience upon Tuesday. He is not twenty years of age; but the most confident man in his carriage and speech that I ever saw. He is one of the greatest and richest men in that kingdom; for his revenue is said to be £200,000 sterling per annum; and that he is able to bring 40,000 horse into the field; and he is a very good Protestant, and one who much honoured the King of Sweden. My Lord of Arundel came to town upon Monday night; and some say that the States have given him so good satisfaction of their true and faithful intendments to the king and this kingdom, that he hath promised them to be for them all he may. But our papists say the contrary.

The Queen of Bohemia's two eldest sons had a great desire to bring my Lord of Arundel on board his ship at his coming away; and Sir Charles Morgan seeming to persuade them from it, they said he had nothing to do with them; and if Sir Jacob Astley would permit them, they would accompany him; which he giving way unto, they lay all night on shipboard with him.

Monsieur de Beuse's effigies hanged up in France.

Prynne was committed to the Tower on Friday last.

Mr. Sherfield's business for breaking the glass windows in Salisbury church had hearing this day in the Star Chamber; but the censure put off till Friday. The Lady Wotton was fined £500 the last week in the High Commission Court for an inscription she put upon her deceased lord's tomb, viz., that he died a true Catholic of the Roman Church; and for removing the font to set up the said tomb, he having desired to be buried as near the place he received his baptism as he might.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 6, 1632-3.

I hear that the council of Swedeland, since the death of their brave king, have resolved to prosecute his designs; and have sent some supplies of men out of their country to the princes. Concerning the Palatinate, I understand that the Chancellor Oxenstiern hath promised to the Lords Administrators to restore as much of it to the young Princes Palatine, as is in the Swedish hands, according to the intent and promise thereof made by the King of Sweden to the King of Bohemia, upon certain conditions, some eight days before his death.

Justinian Paget, Esq., to his Cousin Tremyll.

August 22, 1633.

Give me leave to tell you of a late accident, which hath much troubled the lord mayor, viz.—As he went the last week toward Rochester, one in his company by chance rode over a man, and left him for dead; and as he came back toward London, one of the blockhouses in testimony of their respect shot off a piece of ordnance. Which by chance having a bullet in it, killed a man rowing along the river in a lighter.

You may be confident that Dr. Laud is Archbishop of Canterbury; for his *congé d'élire* was returned the last week, and it is said the king hath given his royal assent; but it seems every man hath not; for it is said that a preacher in London, in his prayer, prayed God not to send a Bonner

or a persecutor of the Church among them ; as if he thought Dr. Laud would be such an one.

Mr. E. R.¹ to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 31, 1633.

The business of the Earl of Suffolk² stands thus. His majesty was moved to send the Lord Cottington once more to know the earl's answer ; upon Thursday, the 19th December, the earl being in physic, his lordship sent, and he was entreated to come the next day ; but before he could get to Suffolk House the earl was gone to the king at Hampton Court ; but his majesty was gone to Nonsuch. So the earl lost his labour ; but the next day, the 21st, the earl got to speak with the king at Whitehall, where he desired his majesty that he might not send his majesty any answers, but come in person. Here the king began to make a repetition of all that passed betwixt the earl and my Lord Cottington : so told my Lord of Suffolk he was not well advised to say he was turned off in disgrace. The earl told the king, the rumour of losing this place had drawn all his creditors upon him ; for he was much in debt. Saith the king, "What care I for your debts ? You must look to them. If you will surrender up your office, I shall reward you to your content. If otherwise, I will have the place, and be disengaged of my promise. And where is your obedience ?" saith his majesty. Upon which his majesty shook very much. My lord's last request was that his majesty would be pleased to let him hold his place till the noise of losing it were over, and then he would lay it at his majesty's feet. The request seemed so reasonable that his majesty granted it. The earl took his advantage with the king, before the lord treasurer or Lord Cottington had spoke with him, to whom, when his majesty had told the passages betwixt the earl and himself, with what his ma-

¹ Edward Rossingham. He succeeded Mr. Pory as a writer of news for Sir Thomas Puckering, in which capacity he attained a great reputation. He had been abroad, and appears to have been known to the Earl of Strafford, and to have enjoyed the confidence of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir John Digby, and other public men.

²Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, was commanded by the king to give up his post of Captain of the Band of Pensioners. He died June 3, 1640.—*Earl of Strafford's Letters*, vol. i., p. 167.

jesty had granted, they seemed not to be well pleased, saying, my Lord of Suffolk under this colour will hold off a good while. His majesty replied, his request was so reasonable he could not deny him; but yet he would take such an order as the earl should not long hold it.

The earl of Salisbury being willing to resign up his reversion of the mastership of the wards, the next thing will be to get the master of the wards in being to surrender; that either the lord treasurer or the Lord Cottington may succeed; for Sir Walter Pye, the Attorney of the Court of Wards, does now what he pleaseth, whom they hold to be a great grievance in this kingdom, whose power they intend to moderate upon exchange.

Some preferment must be sought out for Mr. Secretary Coke, that my Lord Jerom Weston¹ might succeed him. Then all will be well.

The Earl of Suffolk gives it out that he hath satisfied his majesty, but does not tell in what manner. He is shortly to be married to the Lady Leigh, Sir Henry Leigh's widow, of Oxfordshire. This lady is daughter to the old Countess of Devonshire. I see the earl at court, crawling up and down; and my opinion is, that a good caudle would be better for his weak body than a lusty widow, as she is.

Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, was to be removed to Hereford. He petitioned his majesty that he might hold the bishopric of Gloucester one year *in commendam*; which did so much displease the king, that he shall not remove at all.

It is now resolved, and the order is entered, that henceforth there shall be eight Masters of the Chancery civilians, and all the four Masters of Request.

The soap business is almost at an end. The certificate is made, but not yet published: it justifies the new soap and damns the old. Upon Monday, the 23rd, the lord mayor was sent for to the court, where his majesty and the lords rebuked him for his partial proceeding in favour of the old soap, and disparaging the new. Their lordships sent a warrant with four of their hands to it, the lord trea-

¹ Eldest son of the lord treasurer, the Earl of Portland.

surer's being one, for to bring a poor woman out of Southwark before them for speaking invectively against the new soap. I think she was well chidden, and so dismissed. The new company of gentlemen soapboilers have procured Mrs. Sanderson,¹ the queen's laundress, to subscribe to the goodness of the new soap: but she tells her majesty she dares not wash her linen with any other but Castile soap: and the truth is, that most of those ladies that have subscribed have all of them their linen washed with Castile soap, and not with the new soap.

Sunday, the 22nd, the king sat in the council. More than half a day was spent about a complaint against the mayor, and the town-clerk, and some of the burghers of the town of Gloucester, for giving an annuity of £20 per annum to a poor minister of that town, that was brought into the High Commission as a delinquent. That this annuity should be given is an affront to the court: therefore, the board ordered that they should all of them be brought into the High Commission and answer it there. Mr. Prynne hath petitioned his majesty that he may have the liberty of a subject, that is, to go to his study to his books, and to confer with his counsel before he put in his answer. This liberty he hath given him, to confer with his counsel and to go to his chamber, where sixteen books are laid out for him; but no liberty to go into his study.

Dr. Dee,² in his last sermon before the king, upon the text, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck," did so extol womankind as if he had been to marry a daughter, and had no portion for her; and in case she would not off without money, then she might apply the latter part of his sermon, which was the glory of virginity. He spake so much in commendation of virginity, as I do verily believe all those women that heard him, that have wicked husbands, or are aged, wish themselves virgins and young again. Sure this doctor

¹ Bridget, daughter of Sir Edward Tyrrel, knight, and wife of William Sanderson, Esq., the historian, who at the Restoration was made gentleman in ordinary of the king's privy-chamber, and knighted.

² Probably Francis Dee, D.D., educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1606, he became rector of Trinity the Less, and in April, 1615, rector of All-Hallows, Lombard Street. In 1630, he was made Dean of Chichester; and in 1634, Bishop of Peterborough, and died October 8, 1638.

made no good choice of the court to commend virginity in. But the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men. Well, he proceeded so far in the commendations of the Blessed Virgin, as he did boldly say, her body was now more glorified than the bodies of Enoch or Elias, that were translated.

In this month, a warrant under the king's hand was sent into the Signet Office, to draw up a warrant for the privy seal to the customers. The effect was this, to borrow or take up £200 beforehand from the customers to redeem certain of the king's jewels laid to pawn for £200. Within a day or two after, other warrants were sent into the Signet, to draw up warrants for the receipt of £30,000 out of the Exchequer. But Sir Robert Pye says there is no money. I wonder much the first warrant was not drowned in the second, the £200 in the £30,000. So needed they not to have discovered the king's necessities; but they know best what they have to do.

Upon Sunday last, the king and the council sat again upon the soap business; and now it is determined that the patentees for this new soap shall have power given them to seize upon all such soap as hath been made since the middle of November last, or thereabout; to seize upon the pans and all their other utensils belonging to the trade of soap-boiling; and lastly, to commit the soap-boilers themselves to prison. It seems the king and the Lords are well satisfied in the goodness of this new soap, and that part hath been adulterated by the procurement of the old company. Some allege, that by putting into a barrel of soap a small quantity of rhubarb or a glass of sack, either will make that barrel of soap unserviceable. It is granted that this new soap hath blistered the washers' hands, and done other mischiefs. But then again, it is believed that the soap was sophisticated with some obnoxious matter to work that mischief. It is said that there shall come forth a Proclamation concerning it. Then shall we know what to trust to.

Upon Sunday last, Dr. Croke,¹ Judge Croke's son that

¹ Charles Croke, D.D., rector of Amersham, in Bucks, and Fellow of Eton College. He was younger son of Sir John Croke, of Chilton, in Bucks, one of the justices in the King's Bench.

was, preached before the king. He made a very short prayer, and as short a sermon. He was miserably out; and yet he was never in; for he said, he did not fetch of his text. His two prayers and his sermon were not all half an hour long. Well, however, the man is a good, honest man, and hath £600 per annum. Besides, he keeps a private school for noblemen's sons, and breeds them very well. A better schoolmaster he is than a preacher.

There are five or six commissioners appointed, to peruse the certificate about St. John's, in Cambridge, which hath depended so long; the two archbishops, the lord keeper, the Earl of Holland, some say both the secretaries, some but one, that is Secretary Windebank.

Sir George Gresley to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Essex House, January 23, 1633-4.

That which, at this present, I am able to inform you is the reformation of the prices of all small acates, the officers of the Green-Cloth having made complaint that the rates of such manner of provision was grown so high, that the compounders could not furnish the household with provision at the rates they then were bound to do. Whereupon, by the king's express command, the lord mayor hath set forth his proclamation and a rate upon the prices of small acates, which I have sent my brother Gibbs; and the price of beef and mutton is to be taxed also very speedily. The wine customers, as it is said, will petition the king for a defalcation of their yearly * * * or otherwise they are not able to hold them. But the vintners are so circumspect to observe the decree, that if you bring meat ready dressed with you into their houses, they will not furnish you with a trencher and napkin to eat it. Some of the little innkeepers, as I hear, went to the court, to petition the king, but were committed to prison for their pains.

And one Mr. Humphrey, a son of Dr. Humphrey,¹ which was president of Magdalen College, in Oxford, is

¹ Laurence Humphrey, D.D., who died February 1, 1589-90, at the age of sixty-three.

committed to prison for prophesying that doomsday should be upon Friday come month. The manner of Sir Francis Nethersole's offence and his commitment was, as it is most voiced, that pressing to have had some speech with the king, and being prevented therein, he wrote a letter to Secretary Coke, which trenched too much upon his majesty's person; the effect being, as it is reported, that as King James was voiced to be the first loss of the Palatinate, so his majesty would be voiced the second loss thereof, if so be he did longer delay to declare himself what aid he would give towards the restoring the Queen of Bohemia and her children to their inheritance: which being revealed by Secretary Coke, he was sent for and committed to Mr. Trumball, and upon farther examination concerning his offence, and slipping away from Mr. Trumball, committed to the Tower.

There is some muttering of the change of officers; as that my lord chamberlain should be lord steward, and the Duke of Lennox lord chamberlain; that Mr. Noy shall be master of the Wards, and the recorder, or Sir John Bankes, attorney-general. But it is most certain that none but civilians shall be hereafter either masters of Request or Chancery; by which you may smell who looks and hopes to be lord chancellor.

As for foreign news, I hear not any but a report that the King of France will set up the Duke of Savoy to make his claim to Milan.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 23, 1633-4.

The last week came out a commission about buildings. This commission takes force from the 1st of March, in the second year of King James; about which time the proclamation was published about buildings in the city of London and thereabouts. This new commission is to inquire what buildings have been erected; whether upon new or old foundations; whether they have been built according to such orders, ordinances, and directions, provided in the proclamation; if any have had leave to build by the com-

missioners appointed for building. It was upon some suggestions exhibited unto them: now these suggestions are to be removed; if now they appear false or feigned, to be void. All these things are to be looked into by juries upon oath, by the commissioners' own proper view, and by all other ways and means whatsoever. All such buildings as are precisely according to the directions in the proclamation to stand; but all such as are contrary, some of them to be demolished as the commissioners shall think fit. All the others, as are thought fit to stand, to compound with the commissioners, and to pay a yearly rent to the king and to his heirs and successors for ever. The commissioners, the lord treasurer, earl marshal, Earl of Dorset, Lord Cottington, Mr. Comptroller, the two secretaries, Sir William Howard, Sir Henry Spiller, Mr. Attorney, Mr. Inigo Jones. This new commission does not only look into the city, but two miles round about the city. Warrants are already sent out and returned from the parishes of St. Martin's in the Fields, St. Giles' in the Fields, and St. Clement's. How many new buildings since the time abovesaid, whether upon old or new foundations, by whom built, and the present tenants. It is verily supposed that the delinquency of this proclamation will bring into the exchequer a round sum of money; and never more need.¹

The last Thursday, my lord mayor published a proclamation about the rating of all manner of fowl: and because his lordship would be sure to leave out none, the coney is rated amongst the fowl. I think to enclose the proclamation itself, if they be not all bought up. For any thing that I see yet, my lord mayor's proclamations are not worth a doit, for fowl continues very dear still. The great lords have many of them ordered their caterers to buy according to the rates, or not at all. They resolve to have no second course, but to feed upon beef and mutton, and lamb and veal, and pig, and such kinds of meat; and I am sure some of them have had nothing else. One of the great lords' caterers, offering my lord mayor's rates for

¹ It was one of the numerous schemes the government had recourse to to bring money into the treasury.

fowl, was refused. Upon which he called the constable, and then the market-folk let the fowl go for the price set down. The board hath ordered the clerk of the market in the country to set the same rates there. Upon Tuesday last his warrants went out to that purpose: so that now it is hoped we shall pay but honest, reasonable rates for fowl. But methinks my lord mayor tithes mint and cummin, and leaves out the greater, as beef and mutton, which the middle and meaner sort of people feed on, unlooked after. Yet some tell me there is a squint eye upon those, too.

Upon Friday last, died Sir Edward Barkham, alderman of London. He hath left behind him a very handsome fortune, above £4000 in land, yearly revenue, besides £25,000 in ready money, and a great stock besides. He was a Norfolk man. Some land he had there; but much more in Lincolnshire. "From the devil and Alderman Barkham good lord deliver us!" God hath heard their prayer in part, for the alderman will vex them no more. It is said he died in part like Herod, in the 12th of the Acts, eaten up with lice. He was a hard man, that is most certain.

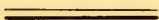
Andrew Humphrey, a son of that Reverend Dr. Humphrey, some time master of a college¹ in Oxford, and Dean of Winchester, the last Sunday in the king's chapel, in the sermon time, reared up upon a stake a parchment with the sun and moon both turned into blood, pictured upon the parchment, and a pair of spectacles. One of the gentlemen of the chapel seized upon it, and reached it to my Lord of London.² This madman says, that upon Friday come five weeks, the sun and moon shall be turned into blood; that the queen shall go to a Protestant church with the king, and hear Protestant service; and the Jews shall be converted, and the world shall end some few weeks after. This poor fellow hath the Scripture at his fingers' ends, and saith he has had strange apparitions, as a hand, and sometimes a foot, through a candle, and when he began to lay hold of it, it vanished. These seven years these things have been revealed unto him; and he was threatened some two nights before, that, unless he ac-

¹ Magdalen.

² Dr. William Juxon.

quainted his majesty with these matters, he should be damned. I cut off all other his lunacies.

Upon Friday last, Wither,¹ the English poet, convented before the board all or most of the stationers of London. The matter was this. Mr. Wither hath, to please himself, translated our singing psalms into another verse, which he counts better than those the Church hath so long used: and therefore he hath been at the charge to procure a patent from his majesty, under the broad seal, that his translation shall be printed and bound to all Bibles that are sold. The stationers refusing to bind them, and to sell them with the Bible, (the truth is, nobody would buy the Bible with such a clog at the end of it) and because some of them stood upon their guard, and would not suffer Mr. Wither with his officers to come into their shops and seize upon such Bibles as wanted his additions, therefore he complained of them for a contempt of the great seal. After their lordships had heard the business *pro et con.*, at length their lordships thought good to damn his patent in part; that is, that the translation should no longer be sold with the Bible, but only by itself. And for my part, I think their lordships have done very well in ordering it in this manner.



[The correspondence during the next two years does not appear to have been preserved; nevertheless, the occurrences of the time must have afforded ample materials for an active "intelligencer." Laud had now arrived at the zenith of his greatness, and was leading as busy a life as might be expected from so restless a persecutor. All sorts of expedients were had recourse to for levying contributions upon the people, and almost every form of injustice perpetrated upon those who dared to complain or remonstrate. The prisons were full of patriots, the streets swarmed with rogues and idlers: there was no confidence

¹ George, author of "The Shepherd's Hunting," and several other works. At the breaking out of the civil war, he greatly distinguished himself on behalf of the Parliament, for which, at the Restoration, he was imprisoned and persecuted.

in the present, and no hope in the future—trade was paralyzed, commerce at a stand, and nothing seemed capable of increase but the tyranny which was so rapidly sapping the best energies of the nation. Yet signs not to be mistaken were manifested that there was a spirit abroad the Star Chamber could not quell, and the Tower could not confine—against it, mutilation and beggary, disgrace and ruin, were of no avail; and when the government fancied it had quelled an assailant, it had created a martyr, whose example was instigating the whole country.]

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 30, 1636.

One of those two priests I mentioned in my last was clapped up by my lord's grace,¹ because he preached the sermon the Sunday before in the queen's chapel in Somerset House, that place being only allowed to the queen's chaplains, and not to any other priests, especially any English priests. The other was committed for company; his fault was his being a popish priest.

Tuesday, the last week, the East India merchants attended all the afternoon to deliver his majesty a petition, which at last the king snatched from them, supposing it had been against the going out of Sir William Courtney's ships; but, so soon as he found it otherwise, and that it only tended to beseech his majesty, now that an extraordinary ambassador was come from the United Provinces, his majesty would be pleased to take their grievances of Amboyna into consideration, that they might be repaired, the king came back and told them, that although they had not moved him in it, yet he did always resolve in the first place to propose to be righted in that particular: yet we hear nothing of it. This complaint being taken away, in all other things the Dutch and we shall differ very little, or not at all.

The prothonotaries, that Mr. Attorney-General had

¹ Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

brought into the Star Chamber for extortion of fees, have compounded. They pay to his majesty £10,000, and their fees are to be regulated henceforward. The last week, my lord keeper and lord privy seal, and my Lord Cottington, sat to regulate them. I hear that they have cut off a large thong out of one fee; namely, whereas those prothonotaries took two shillings for the first three sheets of all bills, and twelve pence the sheet for all sheets above the first three, their lordships have ordered that from henceforth they shall take but eightpence the sheet for all bills, though there should be a thousand sheets in a bill; more or less, twelve lines in every sheet, and ten words in every line.

The earl marshal had moved his majesty to send Mr. Selden, the lawyer, along with him in his journey to Vienna. The king did send to him to provide to go along; but Mr. Selden had no stomach to it; and therefore he did use all his helps in time to get off; which he hath done with much ado, and, as I hear, with some distaste. But now it is said all is well again; for it is verily believed such a journey as this may prove to be would kill Mr. Selden, who is known to be a most tender man. It is said that Dr. Samuel Turner goes along [with them,] but that is not very certain, nor yet true he goes not.

Many gentlemen of quality make all possible means to go this journey; but my lord marshal is very choice of his company; and therefore it is thought my lord hath engaged his majesty to appoint his company, but only such as his lordship shall approve of. The embassy is for restitution of both Palatinates, the Higher and the Lower, and the electoral dignity. The emperor does offer the Lower presently, and the Higher with the electoral dignity, after the Duke of Bavaria's decease, who is an aged man, therefore cannot live long. If this offer of the emperor should be accepted, and that after the Duke of Bavaria's death the other two were prolonged, and not forthwith delivered, (and many other accidents might happen before that time) the young elector, who is now innocent, may be engaged in some business that the emperor may cavil at; so all former promises may be rendered void. These and many other

are said to be the causes why the king refuseth this present offer, and therefore doth send the earl marshal to treat about restitution of the whole.

Because the French king hath raised our gold, (as in my last) therefore there have been some propositions here to raise all our coin, to prevent the transport of it. Saturday last the merchants and some goldsmiths, Sir Thomas Roe and others, were at the council-board by appointment, to show cause why the king should not raise the standard both of gold and silver. Some few days they have to provide their reasons, which it seems were so strong, as his majesty does now believe that he should be the greatest loser by the abasing of the coin. Those which receive most money should be the greatest losers. Mr. Mann¹ and Mr. Harvey,² the merchants, did well; but Sir Thomas Roe did exceed: and now for certain that project is laid aside, never to be meddled with any more, to the great joy and content of all parties, but some of the mint-men, who were said to have put his majesty upon this design. It is said that when a king doth abase his coin, it is like a breaking merchant who takes up goods at £30 in the hundred loss, to support credit a little longer; and that this is the French king's case right, who spent this last year eight millions and £200,000 sterling.

There is a strict command given by his majesty, that all servants shall or will take both the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and the Communion this Easter. This command for the receiving of the Communion was the last year, but not that of taking the oaths.

Saturday last all treaties of composition were broken off between the Earl of Essex and his lady, but very much against her will. Mr. Lowe, her counsel, cavils at the strict drawing up of the articles, and saith she may forfeit her £1300 yearly allowance before she is aware; and having renounced her jointure and thirds, she may so be utterly undone: and therefore, saith he, unless the articles be more loosely penned, he refuseth to be of her counsel.

¹ Thomas Man, author of "England's Treasure by Foreign Trade," published by his son, John Man, Esq., at London, 1669, in 8vo.

² Daniel. See the Earl of Clarendon's Life, written by himself, vol. i.

The articles do only bind her to these four particulars: to renounce her jointure and thirds; never to complain, petition, or sue for alimony; to disclaim all title to the earl's personal estate; and lastly, never to seek to cohabit again with her husband. In all other things whatsoever she is left at large to complain and to do what she will. It was once inserted as an article that if ever she had any child by my lord, she should forfeit her £1300 yearly composition. It was set down in this manner for the more honour, because, if so be she should have any children, whosoever got them, yet my lord must father them by the law. This article the countess did utterly dislike, and therefore my lord was contented to desert it. It is feared the superabundant caution of the countess may do her some prejudice, if my Lord of Essex should be forward to take the advantage of this breach: but, it being no fault of the lady's, it is like to be pieced up again.

Sunday last it was resolved that the Earl of Leicester should go ambassador extraordinary into France, but upon what embassy that is not publicly known. The same night, the king sent for the Earl of Leicester, to give him warning to provide himself for the employment. We have certain news out of France that Mr. Noy, the late attorney Noy's son, is slain. Some reports make it by Captain Biron, who slew him in a duel, and then fled. Another report killed him by one Brierly (or such a name), and a third saith he was stabbed. But true it is that he is slain, and his next brother is the king's ward.

The lord deputy of Ireland is very much offended with the Lord Mountmorris for sending over his wife and children. His lordship hath been before the board to answer it. The deputy, after he had chidden the Lord Mountmorris for it, told him how gracious his majesty had been to him to give him a pardon of his life, if he would sue it out: but he must first acknowledge the king's justice (which is the sentence of the martial court). He must also acknowledge all those charges to be true concerning the corrupt managing of his offices. The lord offers to acknowledge his majesty's grace, and to sue out his pardon; but neither to acknowledge the justice of the martial court,

nor yet those charges of his corruption: so he was dismissed, to advise better upon it.

It is most true that my Lord Brooke had such a privy seal as my letter mentioned.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

[London], April 13, 1636.

Mr. Daniel Harvey, the merchant, hath procured a privy seal to extend Captain Milwood's goods, with a *non obstante* of his royal protection, (as in my last) for to recover his full debt of £2700, which is not yet due, save about £400 of it; and all Captain Milwood's power cannot overthrow this privy seal, which was granted to Mr. Harvey as being one of her majesty's receivers. This privy seal does very much prejudice the rest of the creditors who should have had about a mark in the pound at least.

Our extraordinary Dutch ambassador lies very ill ever since the presents were delivered. He requires no audience, that it is marvelled at why he came over. Mr. Secretary Coke is appointed to treat with him, if he would desire it, as the ambassadors have ever done. This is like to prove a very scurvy business.

It is said that the king hath lately sent to all the ambassadors and agents of the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, to let them know, that they may acquaint their masters with it, that it is his majesty's pleasure that neither of their people shall fish any more in our king's seas without his especial license. This I hear very confidently spoken, but I am not certain of the truth of it. It is much feared the Dutch and we shall be farther out than ever. It was given out lately that the Dutch had privately propounded the old business of Amboyna with the king, the East India merchants here never being made acquainted with it, but that is false; there is no agreement yet made. This Dutch ambassador that is now come over is suspected for a bold man, because Monsieur Bracell, that was here some years since to treat about the Amboyna business, juggled so with our State, and therefore was sent hence with scorn and reproach. Therefore now that

some ambassador was to be sent hither about the same business, in the first place at least a dozen of the States refused this employment, till at last this Monsieur Beveren accepted of it, who hath yet done nothing, and our State does observe it to see what he will do.

The last week we had certain news from Paris that the Lady of Purbeck was declared a papist;¹ and that she had engaged their Majesties of France and the Cardinal Richelieu to move the King of England for her pardon, and that she may come over. They do undertake it, and to that purpose they have sent instructions hither to their ambassador extraordinary, who is also very zealous in the business. The lady hath written a long letter of three sheets to her majesty, the story of her life from her very childhood to her conversion, humbly desiring her majesty to intercede for her pardon. She hath also written to the Duchess of Buckingham and to some other of the great ladies, to take off my Lord's Grace of Canterbury. It is said she is altogether advised by Sir Kenelm Digby, who indeed hath written over letters to some of his noble friends of the privy council, wherein he sets down what a convert this lady is become, so superlatively virtuous and sanctimonious, as the like hath rarely been either in men or women: and therefore he does most humbly desire their lordships to farther this lady's peace, and that she may return into England, for otherwise she does resolve to put herself into some monastery. I hear his majesty does utterly dislike that the lady is so much directed by Sir Kenelm Digby, and that she fares nothing the better for it.

Here hath been an Italian these two or three years in the habit of a priest, that begs of every gentleman, saying he is a protestant. This rogue (for he is no better) had got together £218, and being very lately in Southwark and resolved to go to his w——, was loth to carry with him all this money, and therefore hides it in a hole by the side of a ditch, under the high-water mark, and claps a clod of earth upon it; so leaves it, and to the wench he goes, with whom he continued somewhat long, until the tide had washed away the clod of earth and his purse of money,

¹ Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 73.

which fell into the midst within the ditch. At his return, missing his money, the rogue cries out as he had been mad, that all the people come about him, and, hearing what the matter was, they fell to raking for the money, but not finding it, away goes the Italian: but the people continue the search, till at last they found it, and got out of the purse eight pounds before the constable did sense it, who carried it to Sir John Lenthall of the King's Bench. But the parson of St. George's Church soon gives notice of it to my lord's grace, who acquaints his majesty with it, desiring this booty may go to the repairing of Paul's. The king consents—the money is sent for—but Sir John Lenthall refuseth to part with it but legally; and upon security to discharge him he parts with it. His grace had warrants out before this accident to apprehend this Italian for some abuse he had done to the Italian preacher of Mercer's Chapel; and now this £218 must be deposited toward that fine shall be laid upon him in the high commission for abusing the Italian preacher.

The commission which hath been on foot, every Monday these two months, upon the prebends of Westminster's complaints against the bishop of Lincoln, is now put off till the Monday after Easter week. Monday last, he had a very ill day. A new charge is lately risen up against him, that his lordship hath received, out of the prebend's allowances, £3300, towards the reparation of the Abbey Church. They charge him, that he hath not laid out half the money; and that he keeps the rest. His lordship saith, a bargain is a bargain, and gives in no account. But his grace told his lordship it was a base bargain; so requires the bishop to bring in the accounts, which the bishop hath small mind unto: and whether his lordship can now make a true account, yea or no, is a great question; because it is said his lordship hath made several accounts, and then dislikes them again.

The last week, there died of the plague, two French children out of one house, in Whitechapel parish. Upon search, since, it appears that in Stepney and Whitechapel, eight houses have been infected, and fifteen persons have died of the plague, and all French, as I hear. Now there

is strict order taken to send such as are infected to the pest-house, and to burn their goods.

Sunday last, the city complained to the king, that the prison of Newgate was so full of poor prisoners, as they feared it might breed the infection there: that there were forty-seven condemned persons, which his majesty had rerieved, that were kept there, which did starve the rest of the poor prisoners. About twenty of them were rerieved at the elector's coming into England. To put them out of the gaol, were to send so many ravening wolves amongst lambs; and none durst venture to carry them over sea. That they of the court and the city knew not how to dispose of them; and it were hard to hang them now in cold blood. That gaol-damp of Hereford hath already killed a great many that were at the last assizes, and many more are sick even to death. The stench of one poor prisoner suffocated them all.

Sir * * * Hamilton, near kinsman to the Marquis, goes the queen's agent to Rome, in Brett's stead.

Monday last, after their majesties had spent some time at Ludgate Hill, in perusing Butler's wares (Monstevens's successor), they went to Bethlehem, to see the mad folks, where they were madly entertained. There was every one in his humour. Two mad women had almost frightened the king and queen, and all their attendants, out of the house, by their foul talk.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 4, 1636.

The last week, there died of the plague 13, in the parish of Stepney; in Whitechapel, 2; in Bishopsgate Street, 1; and at Aldgate, 1; in all 17. The City of London hath delivered two petitions to the king. The one is, that his majesty will be pleased, that all those which die of the plague in the parish of Stepney may not be certified in the weekly bills of London, as his majesty hath commanded lately, but that they may be certified in a bill by itself; because, it being included in the city bills, it is generally taken abroad that London is more infected than, God be thanked, it is: so it not only breeds a fear

in the country-people of coming to London, but of receiving any commodities from the city. There are divers other reasons, which I cannot set down, because I have not read the petition. The other is, that whereas his majesty hath been pleased to grant an incorporation to include into one body the Strand, Covent Garden, Westminster, and all other places whatsoever, within three miles round about the City of London, and within the city, that is exempted out of the corporation of the city; and also, no way to infringe the liberties of the dean and chapter of Westminster, to have a governor, wardens, assistants, and commonalty, to fine all such as refuse to bear office; the natives, born and bred up in any trade within the said liberties, to pay 4*s.* apiece for their freedoms; all tradesmen of other places to pay 20*s.* for their freedoms, and aliens to pay 40*s.*; all apprentices to have their indentures registered and enrolled in some hall, which they may purchase; power to purchase land; to take quarterage, 12*d.* of natives, and 2*s.* of strangers; all these payments being to his majesty's use; this grant being already past the privy seal, the city doth petition it may be suspended, and not pass the great seal, until they have made their just exemptions, which they humbly desire his majesty would be pleased to take into consideration.

Friday last, the officers of the Custom House petitioned the lords of the council against some officers belonging to the new society of soapboilers, who came with a warrant under the hands of some of that society; with a constable also, and attempted to break into his majesty's storehouse, that had Charles R. upon the door, to take out there a parcel of Castile soap, of six thousand pounds weight at the least, which his majesty's searchers of the Custom House had seized upon, being goods forfeited by his majesty's proclamation; and, therefore, a third part of the said goods, so forbidden, belonging to his majesty's searchers, which the society of soapboilers would have taken from them. For this insolency of attempting the breaking open the king's storehouses, the lords have committed only those that would have executed the warrant.

Before the earl marshal's going out of England, his

lordship had procured a grant under the privy seal to have a fair kept upon St. Mark's day, once in every year, for ever, at Wem, a town in the county of Shropshire, to have the toll and all other profits thereto belonging, to him and his lordship's heirs for ever. But, before the grant doth pass under the great seal, a writ *ad quod damnum* is to be returned, that his majesty shall suffer no kind of prejudice, nor yet his loving subjects.

There is a new imposition of 18*d.* upon every hundred weight of hops, that shall be imported after Midsummer next ensuing. This 18*d.* is over and above the imposition set down in the late book of rates made and published at Michaelmas last. There is also a like imposition of 18*d.* upon every cow, heifer, ox, steer, and runt, that shall be imported into England and Wales out of Ireland, to begin at Midsummer next also.

Tuesday, in the Passion week, the lord deputy had a Castle Chamber Court in Dublin (which is our Star Chamber), where the Lord Mountmorris was brought as a malefactor, with a guard, and brought to the bar for his contempt in not putting in his answer to Mr. Attorney's bill exhibited in that court some few days before against his lordship. The Lord Mountmorris pleaded he was so straitened in point of time, and also that his counsel were not yet returned from their circuits, that he could not draw up his answer. My lord deputy took these as excuses only to gain time, and that he refused to make answer, rather in opposition to his lordship, than for lack of time or counsel: and therefore his lordship protested, before a year went about, he would make his lordship more humble. So, for this contempt, and also for joining in combination with Sir Piers Crosby¹ to raise a scandal that my lord deputy had beaten a poor man to death, that had petitioned him for the release of his barque, which his lordship's officer had seized upon, his lordship was committed a close prisoner to the Castle, and all his lordship's papers seized upon by my lord deputy. Since which time, the Lord Mountmorris being

¹ A military adventurer of considerable reputation; remembered chiefly for having been a witness against the Earl of Strafford.

very [ill], and supposing, for want of rest, that he could not live, he desired Dr. Howell, the divine, might come to administer the Sacrament unto him, to fit himself for another world. But, before Dr. Howell might have leave to go to the Lord Mountmorris, he must take an oath not to convey any message or letter to the said Lord Mountmorris, nor yet bring any from him, neither directly nor indirectly. Having taken this oath, he had leave, and did administer the Sacrament. Letters from Ireland of the 22d of April tell us, that my Lord Mountmorris, for want of sleep, is become mad; and that he can get nothing down, whatsoever he takes, but presently casts it up again; so much is this poor man afflicted with the heavy displeasure of my lord deputy. Now, as for killing the man, which is a mere scandal raised upon the deputy, his lordship caused a commission to examine how the poor man died, and of his lordship's beating him. It plainly appeared he died of a consumption, and not of my lord deputy's beating of him. It is true, that he died within some days after he was beaten, and that gave life to the report.

Monday last, Mr. Secretary Windebanke signified the king's pleasure to Mr. Darcy, one of the three agents sent out of Ireland by the province of Connaught, about Michaelmas last, to treat, or rather to plead their title to that province, which my lord deputy would and had entitled his majesty unto, by ancient title of five hundred years since. Two of the commissioners were sent back about Christmas; and, as it is said, upon their arrival in Dublin, they were committed close prisoners. The king kept this Mr. Darcy here, although the lord deputy had often written that the king's business did infinitely suffer by this Mr. Darcy's absence there. Mr. Darcy is a lawyer, a stout man and a bold; and, as it seems, no servant to the deputy. For, whereas the deputy, with others, do farm some customs in Ireland, and licenses for exportation, at £15,000 per annum, this Mr. Darcy hath lately offered the king £30,000 for these very same customs and licenses. And, if it be true which is written out of Ireland, Mr. Darcy would not lose by the offer, there being made the last year £40,000, which was £20,000 clear

gains. The king did not accept of this Mr. Darcy's proffer; and now Mr. Secretary Windebanke hath signified the king's pleasure to Mr. Darcy, that he forthwith, upon his allegiance, repair into Ireland, and there to present himself to the lord deputy, of whom he shall know his majesty's further pleasure. Saturday last, with a heavy sad heart, the poor man went hence towards Ireland; and it is believed that my lord deputy will stay Mr. Darcy's arrival, and afterwards set out towards England.

Sunday, the news came to court, that Sir Arthur Capell had slain Sir Thomas Lenthropp in a duel at Hadham, (young Mr. Capell's) in Hertfordshire; a couple of very honest, fair-conditioned men, and old friends in a very strict manner; the business they fell out upon being of no consideration. Sir Thomas Lenthropp said, Sir Arthur Capell told him my Lord Howard was not pleased, that he, my Lord of Dover, Mr. Capell, and many country gentlemen besides, came to hawk upon grounds which were in his lordship's liberty, he being there: and that they neither came to him, nor sent to him, as if my Lord Howard had not been considerable: and this was a good while since. Sir Arthur Capell had forgot he told Sir Thomas Lenthropp so much; "but," saith he, "if I had told you so much, must you, therefore, make me the author?" They were made friends, but Sir Thomas Lenthropp, two or three hours after, pressed hard upon Sir Arthur Capell to fight, that he could not avoid it. So, to the next close they went, where Sir Arthur Capell, at the second pass, ran him through the heart. All cry shame of the company that did not presently reconcile this difference.

On Monday last, the justice-seat was kept at Stratford Langthen, in Essex, where all the judges delivered their opinions that by the perambulation of the 29th of Edward I., and also by a judgment of the king's bench in Richard the Second's time, all that part of Essex is forest which was lately delivered to be in the bounds. The Justice-in-Eyre gave the sentence, but yet did heighten the king's mercies, who was ready to shew all favour to his people there.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

[London,] September 28, 1636.

Sunday this last week the Spanish ambassador had his audience at Oatlands. This great don will not abate the least punctilio of the ceremony belonging unto him. He was first fetcht by the Earl of Carlisle from Greenwich to his house at South Lambeth: from thence, Saturday, the 17th, attended on by my Lord of Salisbury, to Abscourt, the Lord of Dunsmore's house, to be the nearer: upon Sunday, to Oatlands. My Lord of Salisbury would fain have been spared, but could not, by reason there was none of his quality, both of the council and of the order, so near the court as his lordship was. The Prince Elector was at the audience, and was observed to swell to see the pride of the Spanish dons, but they took no notice of his highness.

Captain Walter Stuart hath been examined by Mr. Secretary Coke why he did not suffer the king's officers to search the king's ship which brought the Spanish treasure, it being objected there might be more Spanish treasure sent aboard here than was entered, and more than was agreed upon. Notwithstanding all this noise for the transport of the Spanish treasure, nothing will come of it in the end, for I cannot yet learn of any just charge upon any of the actors in it.

The demur about the going out of the new ship-writs was only to resolve whether so great a sum should be levied by these new writs as was raised by those of the last year.

I hear by some good letters out of France, that my Lord of Leicester is in extraordinary esteem there; and that his lordship does manage a private treaty between us and France, which the French king's ambassadors here have no knowledge of.

Friday, the 16th, Mr. Henry Percy,¹ hunting the stag with his majesty in Windsor Forest, they came in both to the fall of the stag. Mr. Percy took a knife to strike into

¹ Younger brother to Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, created afterwards, by King Charles I., Lord Percy, of Alnwick, in Northumberland.

the stag, but, his glove being wet, his hand slipt down to the blade, and hath cut two of his fingers in such manner, the queen's surgeon that dresseth him does fear he will hardly ever recover the use of those two fingers. Rochester Car, Sir Robert Car's brother, of Lincolnshire, hath been mad all this summer, and kept up; but, some ten days since, he broke loose into the streets, and said, in the audience of many people, that he would go to the court; that he had no business there, neither with king, queen, nor state, save only to kill the king, and then he would marry the queen. The people knocked him down for these speeches. This being told her majesty, she fell into such a passion as her lace was cut to give her more breath; but, God be thanked, she was soon well again. Now she is very visibly with child.

Monday, this last week, a poor man, Bumsted by name, sometime serjeant to Sir John Thimblebee, was sent a prisoner from Oatlands to the Tower of London. His offence was for saying he would cut off the king, or the king must first be cut off. But what the circumstances were, that I cannot learn yet. I do hear it is a very poor silly fellow, but such language is not to go unpunished.

The 16th, my lord admiral weighed anchor in the Downs, and set sail for Yarmouth, where he arrived the 18th, but had in his passage very foul weather, that they had much ado to keep the Roebuck, the king's pinnace, from sinking, and my lord admiral's kitchen ship. Wednesday night, letters came from my lord admiral to be sent in post haste to Captain Cartwright, riding in the Downs. He is captain of the king's ship, the Happy Entrance. This ship is one of those eight considerable ships my lord hath to attend him in this commission, to distribute licenses to the Holland's busses now fishing at Yarmouth. There are two other small ships, but those two are baubles in respect of offensive ships. I do hear of sixteen Dutch men-of-war that are with the Dutch busses at Yarmouth. It is, therefore, believed my lord admiral hath sent for the king's ship, the Happy Entrance, to come to him with all possible expedition. Whereas it was said that the Dutch fishermen were willing enough to acknow-

ledge and pay the toll demanded, and that the Provincial States did much oppose it: I do hear, now, that there was no such thing; that neither the one nor the other do consent, and that those Dutch captains of the States' ships of war have been soundly rebuked since they came into Holland, for persuading those busses in the north seas to take the aforesaid licenses.

I do hear from court that the king and his lords are to be all this week in council at Windsor; and that upon the 10th of October his majesty goes towards Newmarket to stay there until Allholland-tide. But the queen is to continue still at Oatlands. This week the ship-writs will be delivered; and it is supposed this fishing imposition upon the Dutch busses will be again in consideration. The household is to be at Windsor till Allholland-tide: then their majesties are to remove to Hampton Court.

The last week our East India merchants had news of two East India ships that were safely arrived in Plymouth, but very weakly manned, very many of the sailors being dead, some of them falling down dead as they were handling the ropes. The Dutch have also news of a rich ship of theirs, the Amboyna, which is also come from the East Indies. This Dutch ship touched at the Cape, where, seeing our two ships, she set sail and would not speak with them; yet give it (the Dutch pretend) that this ship left our ship in great want of such things as they could not spare them; and hearing our ships were not arrived, they cast out some jealous suspicions, as if they had been cast away, only to advance the prices of their own commodities. But within two days after, our ships came into Plymouth to contradict all these Dutch reports. But yet the Dutch have the better end of the staff, for their one ship is much richer than both our ships sent together.

Captain Cartwright's ship, the Happy Entrance, is not commanded to Yarmouth, but to waft over the merchant's letters, which if he shall neglect, another shall be put in his place. This was the contents of my lord admiral's letter which went down the last week in so much haste.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

October 5, 1636.

The Spanish ambassador hath already removed his habitation from that house in South Lambeth, which was some time Sir Noel Caron's; the States' ambassador and he hath taken Nottingham House, in Chelsea, whither he is already come. Sunday, this last week, there was much ado at the court at Windsor. The French ambassador urged vehemently the sending over of the Spanish treasure against some of the privy council; and I hear some great ones did side with him. But nothing came of it, save only that Captain Walter Stuart was committed a prisoner to the Fleet at Reading during this time of infection at London. I hear he was committed, not because he carried over the treasure, but because he would not suffer the king's ship that came with it from Spain to be searched by his majesty's officers.

It is said at the court, that Sir John Pennington hath taken one of those Turkish pirates that had so much molested the western coasts. But our letters from the west country tell us only, that he is there arrived, with so many ships, to clear those seas of them. But we hear from Southampton of a ship, belonging to that town, that hath brought in a Turkey ship, thus:—The Turks, marking this Hampton barque, manned out their long-boat to take her; but this long-boat was cast to leeward, and could not fetch them up, which the barque observing, and also being well provided, and taking notice that the Turks' ship was very much weakened by the absence of so many of their men as were in that long-boat, she beat up the helm, sets upon the Turkish ship, and takes her without any great difficulty, and brings both the ship and men into harbour. The west-country people have no great belief that the king's ships will do any good against these Turks. They rather believe, that if so be the counties did set out ships, the west-country seamen would be much more zealous in prosecution of those Turks in revenge of their sufferings.

Thus say the letters of the 27th of September from the

fleet riding at anchor ten leagues out at sea, north of Yarmouth, where the fleet hath endured very hard weather, the winds blowing high at south-west. Two of their great ships were gone God knows whither, the James and the Nonsuch; two of the merchant ships, the Jonah and the Great Neptune, were discharged by my lord admiral, their victuals being almost spent, only so much left as to bring them into harbour. My lord general can neither find nor hear of any of the Holland busses; but a Scotsman, coming from Campveer, a town in Zealand, to which belong divers busses, did assure my lord general that whilst he was there a command came thither from the lords of the States, that no busses should go out to fish this latter season of the year; which, it seems, is very true, because our fleet can find no busses there, which at other times did never fail. Our fleet is like, therefore, to be called home presently, but their victuals will force them within one fortnight. I do now hear from the court, that letters are sent to recal my lord general, who is to leave the fleet, and land at Yarmouth the 12th of this month. But his majesty hath been very earnest to make the Dutch acknowledge; for my lord had a command to put out more to the north of Yarmouth, to seek out the busses, and either force them to take licenses [or prevent] them from fishing: but the lords the States have prevailed for this year.

The court of wards is to be kept at Acton from All-hollandtide till the end of the term, because otherwise his majesty will lose much in his profits: and to this end proclamation comes out suddenly.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

October 11, 1636.

That Scottish report I wrote in my last, that the Lords the States had commanded no busses should go out to fish this second season, is now contradicted by other letters from the fleet. For my lord general, according to his wonted vigilancy, plied to and again, from day to day, till at last he met with a fleet of busses, newly come from Holland, an hundred or thereabouts, part of these having

been licensed at their last being in the North Seas; the rest, about sixty, took licenses, and paid the duties demanded. They used all industry to avoid our fleet, and our fleet as much to surprise them. This happened on the 29th of September. The next day, about evening, they espied another great fleet of busses of about 800. Those had thirteen men-of-war to guard them. Our fleet made after them with all the sail they could pack on, but all in vain, to come near them. For first they were so far to windward, that our heavy ships could not weather them; and, secondly, the winds were so high, that though our ships came in the skirts of the most leewardly of them, yet they durst not man out their long-boats to board them. All the advantage, therefore, our fleet have of them is, that they must fish in the night: then our ships plying it up in the wind are with them in the morning before they can well get up their nets. But hitherto, the winds have been so high, that they could neither fish, nor our ships well follow them; and therefore our fleet rides at anchor out in the sea, for fear of being driven upon the sands, with those easterly winds they had had there. Those two ships which were blown away are come to them again; one of them, the James, a very great ship, having escaped firing very narrowly. They were boiling of pitch within board; the flame took some part of the ship; and but that one of the sailors ventured his life to quench it, which he did, the ship had surely perished. My lord general hath most nobly rewarded this poor fellow.

Sunday, the last week, the high sheriffs throughout all the counties of England and Wales were pricked. It is said, the king resolves they shall all stand, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, irrevocable.

Friday last, the ship writs were all sealed, and carried to the court on Saturday, with the high sheriffs' patents, and power given to take and give the old high sheriffs their discharge in the country. These writs, with the patents, and the bonds for the high sheriffs of all the Welch counties, are forthwith to be sent down, that the writs in the Welch counties may be presently put in execution. Why the patents of all the sheriffs of the English

counties were not sealed at the same time, I can give no certain account, unless it be a statute in force, that no high sheriff in England shall enter into his high shrievalty till * * * * *; for I hear that was objected presently, after the sheriffs were all pricked. But I am told it was the resolution that the high sheriffs' patents and these new ship-writs should have all gone down together presently.

And whereas, heretofore, Sussex and Surrey have ever had but one high sheriff to serve both those counties, the like for Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire, from henceforth those counties shall have their peculiar high sheriff, this being the first time.

I hear that all the county of Galway, in Ireland, have submitted all their estates they hold in that county wholly to his majesty. They will no longer contest against his majesty's title.

My lord deputy is sent for to come to the court. It is supposed it is only that upon this submission the king will give some instructions to my lord deputy, before his lordship's going over, about the ordering of this business.

Our merchants do much complain of some Portugal Jews here in London, that trade greatly for Spain, to their great prejudice. But this is not all: they do receive damage by them another way, as thus: a ship of London being laden with linen cloth at St. Malo, in France; this ship the French took, as she was homeward bound, and, searching what lading she had aboard, they find, by the bills of lading, some parcel of this linen cloth was consigned for Lisbon in Portugal, and to be first landed at Dover, to be shipped presently again to go for Spain. This landing of these French goods was only a deceit, to avoid the French king's edict, that no French commodity should go for Spain, under the penalty of forfeiture of the ship, and all the goods aboard her. This ship is carried to Boulogne, our merchants having near £6000 in her, which goods were to be brought up to London; but the other small parcels belonging to some Portugals have confiscated all. Our merchants complain; but the French will not forego that advantage; so we lose all.

My Lord of Leicester, ambassador extraordinary with the French king, hath sent over his secretary. We have been in treaty with France of late, the French courting us very much. I do hear there is some new confederacy contracted between the French and us. There is a whispering, as if it were already concluded; but that is more than I dare avouch. It seems the French press upon us to make good some old article made between us, when Sir Thomas Edmonds was ambassador to the French, at the king's first coming to the crown, which is said to be, that whensoever either of the two king's dominions is invaded by a third prince or state, each king is to give his assistance against the foreign invader. It is now the French king's case, the Spaniard having invaded part of the French dominions; and the French now sue the performance of this article. What is like to be done in this particular, I cannot yet learn. But so much I do learn, that the French and we are at this present upon excellent good terms; and it is said that the ambassadors extraordinary do not use to send over their secretaries upon any ordinary occasions. It is certain the French can make no new confederacies; but the United Provinces are to be included, by reason of their league offensive and defensive against one another's enemies. And, therefore, it is believed the fishing difference between the Dutch and us will be composed in this treaty between the French and us.

About some ten days since, here arrived the two sons of the Landgrave of Hesse; yet some say they are his brothers. They are but young; the eldest not above sixteen years of age. My lord treasurer hath feasted them; and I hear the king sent for them the last week to come to Windsor. The Landgrave of Hesse's business at the Hague was for some aid, which, I hear, he hath obtained of the States, and is now returned again to Hesse Land.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

November 23, 1636.

When my Lord of Northumberland was at sea, two places fell void in the king's ships, a purser's place, and a cook's

place. According to the express words of his lordship's commission, he disposeth of them. Sunday, the 13th, his lordship being at Windsor, these two, whom his lordship had put in, petitioned him to assist them; for by a letter sent by Mr. Secretary Coke, with the hands of the commissioners of the navy, they were put by their places. My Lord of Northumberland, the king being at council, complained of this to his majesty, spake very discreetly, and very stoutly. Mr. Secretary Coke and his lordship argued pro and con. the business before the king and his council, the attorney by. After much debate, it was adjudged on my lord's side, who did nothing but what his commission in express words warranted him to do. And Mr. Attorney affirmed it was the same my Lord of Lindsey had. So it was commanded by the king to Mr. Secretary Coke that by my Lord of Northumberland's warrant alone they two should be admitted again; which he should signify to the officers to be his pleasure.

There hath been more fighting at court, for the same day the two combatants, Will Crofts and Peter Apsley, were before a committee of lords to examine their difference. * * * * * ¹ Crofts replies somewhat sharply, calling him fool, telling him his tongue was as long as his nose. Peter steps to him and mumbles him about the nose; some looking on who were friends to both. So that night it passed away. Apsley kept his chamber all the next morning, expecting to have heard from Crofts, but did not. Mr. Crofts came to dinner to my Lord of Holland's. There somewhat was let fall by some of them which made Mr. Crofts know that he was somewhat slow in putting off his calling of Apsley for mumbling his nose. Not long after Peter comes in. Here they fell to cuffs indeed after some little arguing, but were parted and made friends by Mr. Goring and Mr. Neville. Mrs. Seymour being told of this, thinking herself much injured, complains to the king and queen; which they hearing, they utterly denied these passages. The king called for Apsley and examined him. He confessed the words, and both of

¹ An offensive expression has here been struck out, which was not to the credit of Mr. Peter Apsley, and bore a scandalous allusion to one of the queen's ladies.

them were commanded to attend at Windsor. There before some few of the council it was heard. Crofts came off well enough, got committed to my Lord Dorset, and Apsley to his chamber with a sharp admonition and reprimand.

Our merchants have complained of the Dunkirkers for making prize of some goods of theirs of £2500 value, which they sent over to Amsterdam in a small barque of eighty tons. Amongst divers parcels of goods there was £300 worth of oils for the dressing of cloth. These oils the Dunkirkers make to be provision for the belly, and therefore prohibited goods. The master of the barque was a subject of the Duke of Holstein, who is in amity with the Spaniard. What oath this master hath taken our merchants know not; but he hath his barque restored him. The Dunkirkers very craftily hath procured a chapman under hand to give a great price for the oil, as if it were meal-oil, to prove the goodness of it by the great price in their courts of justice against our merchants, who made affidavits this last week here in town what oil it was, and for what uses, and that it was no meal-oil. This is to be certified to Dunkirk; yet our merchants have no great hope to procure justice there, unless our state be jealous in it, for they sold their oil under pretence that they were ——, before it came to be pleaded in their courts of justice.

Divers of our merchants have been in great fear that the Spaniard and we should fall foul, although the state had not intimated such jealousies unto any of them, as is usual in such cases, that the merchants might by that warning withdraw his goods out of the Provinces belonging to that crown. Others of our merchants have better hopes, because they observe some alteration within these new days; for they hear that Mr. Arthur Hopton is now to go for Brussels to be his majesty's agent there (he was agent in Spain), and of this there is little doubt made.

There was order given to make over £800 by exchange to Paris for some minister of state there, or going there, very lately. That is countermanded by another order to

make over the £800 to Brussels, for Mr. Hopton's use there, it is believed.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

January 4, 1636-7.

Some letters out of the west country tells us of a ship of Sallee of 17 pieces of ordnance riding at anchor near Rochelle. A ship of Exeter, laden with fish, came to an anchor close beside the Sallee ship. That the Turks boarded her, took out all her men, and the best of her lading, and then sunk the ship. But since, by a leak in the Sallee ship, she was forced to come into Rochelle, where the ship was laid ashore. That all the men aboard her walked freely ashore. The English which live there have procured the Christians liberty, some sixty persons, which do now sue for damage for that ship laden in the French king's harbour. And it is said that the articles between the French and those of Sallee are, that they shall not come within ten leagues of the French shore. Only with those of Sallee have the French made a league, and not with the Turks of Algiers or of Tunis.

Sunday before Christmas, the bishop,¹ dean, and chapter of Lichfield, sent up a complaint to the lords of the council against the Lady Eleanor Davis. It seems the cathedral church in Lichfield is lately very beautifully set out with hangings of arras behind the altar; the communion-table handsomely railed in; and the table itself set out in the best manner, and the bishop's seat fairly built. This lady came one communion day in the morning with a kettle in one hand and a brush in the other, to sprinkle some of her holy water (as she called that in the kettle) upon these hangings and the bishop's seat, which was only a composition of tar, pitch, sink-puddle, water, &c., and such kind of nasty ingredients which she did sprinkle upon the aforesaid things. This being the act of a mad woman, the lords to prevent further mischief have given out two warrants, the one to bring the lady to Bethlehem; the other to the keeper of Bethlehem to receive her. There are messengers gone into Staffordshire to bring her up.

¹ Dr. Robert Wright.

There have been this last summer, and now lately again, some jealousies put into my lord's grace, that Sir Robert Howard was in France this last summer; that he was also there with my Lady of Purbeck just before Christmas, which is contrary to his majesty's commands, and his bonds, that he shall not go into her ladyship's company. Upon this complaint their lordships sent three letters: the one to my Lord of Suffolk, being at Dover; another to my Lord Vaux, in Northamptonshire; and another to Lord Edward Howard, forthwith to send Sir Robert Howard to the board, or to give a true account of what was become of him. This last Wednesday Sir Robert Howard appeared, having been at Dover just at that time that these letters came to the lord warden of the Cinque Ports. My lord warden's letter to the lords was, that he had examined his brother whether he had been in France, yea or no; that he had sworn deeply to him that he had not been over, neither had he attempted it since his majesty denied to give him leave this last spring; and that Sir Robert Howard, if their lordships so pleased, would take his oath upon the Holy Evangelists to the same purpose.

St. George's feast is put off again. Sir Thomas Roe, the chancellor of the Garter, hath sent letters to all the knights to put off the feast till the 18th of next April. The 23rd day following is St. George's day, so that two St. George's feasts will come close together. These letters were sent this last week for the proroguing of it.

In one of my last letters I wrote, that Mr. Burton had refused to take the oath *ex officio*. I hear since that he hath not only been suspended from the execution of his ministry, but also from the profits of his living. He is said to have written a book, called "Divine Judgements upon Sabbath-breakers." He confesseth, as I hear, that he wrote the book, and gave it to a printer, who printed it against his knowledge; but he absolutely denieth that he wrote three or four leaves at the end of the book, which, I hear, do very much scandalize Mr. Attorney Noy, because he prosecuted Mr. Prynne. I have not seen the book, therefore I can say little of the contents of it; but sure Mr. Burton was guilty, because he was not to be

found. I do further hear, that Mr. Burton is had in suspicion to be the author of the scandalous book, entitled "News from Ipswich." When he is found, it will be laid to his charge.

Since the death of my Lord Spencer,¹ my Lord of Holland hath gotten the wardship of the young lord's² body only, that is to have the benefit of his marriage; but his majesty reserves the benefit of the ward's land. But I hear the Lord Spencer had made over a great part of his estate to raise portions for younger children; and if so be that conveyance be good in law, the benefit of the wardship will be rather small.

Lord Wimbledon's lady was delivered of a son the Friday before Christmas. My lord marshal landed one day this last week: he came to the king at Hampton Court upon Thursday last. The week before Christmas we had news of an East Indian ship, called the Discovery, worth £100,000, which was put into Plymouth. She brought news out of the Indies, that a small ship, called the Roebuck, which went out of England in April last, was twelve months; that this ship hath taken two junks in the Red Sea, and in them about £60,000 in money; how they tortured the poor Indians, by setting burning matches to their fingers, to make them confess where their treasure lay, that they have burnt their fingers to their hands. These two junks belong, the one to D—, which the Portugals hold, the other to the great mogul's people. Those of D— were tortured, but not the people of the other junk, because our East India merchants have much goods in the mogul's country.

Upon complaint of the great wrong done by the English to the mogul's subjects, all our factors at Surat and at * * * are clapt up in prison, and £20,000 seized up, to repair the losses in one of the junks; and our merchants expect daily to hear that £40,000 more are taken from their factors, to repair the losses of the other junk. Yet this is not all: for our merchants fear that before this

¹ William Lord Spencer. He died on the 19th of December, 1636, aged forty-five.

² Henry, created Earl of Sunderland, 8th of June, 1643. He died on the 20th of the following September.

complaint is at Constantinople, how the English have robbed in the Red Sea, whereby the trade there is distracted, to the infinite loss of the grand signor in his revenues in those parts, it is feared the grand signor, in revenge, will make an attack upon all the English goods in Turkey, which are at this time worth £400,000 and upwards. Sir William Courteen was part owner of this ship, the Roebuck, and one of those who set her out, having procured letters of reprisal, to take from any people in those parts which were not in amity with England. There went at the same time in consortship a great ship, called the Samaritan; but we have no news of her yet, nor of what she hath done.

So soon as Christmas is over, the East India and Turkey merchants will complain to the Lords against the owners of the Roebuck, to require reparation of their damages from them.

There are two particulars much spoken against in this business. The one is, that Sir William Courteen having an estate of £200,000 in lands and money, that he should not be satisfied with it, but must procure letters of marque, to take from those that had never done him any wrong. The other is, that the English in the Roebuck should torture the poor Indians; which the Hollanders will cast in our dish, when we lay their cruelties done in Amboyna to their charge. What the ill consequences of this hit upon the Indians will be, we shall see shortly. In the mean time, our merchants are in great distraction. The going out of these two ships was carried with so much secrecy, as the owners of these ships might not know to what parts they were bound, fearing the merchants of both companies would have used all possible means to have stopt them.

Mr. Walter Stuart, that went lately over to Brussels, of whom there were so many various reports, is now returned, and hath been with his majesty this Christmas.

We have letters from a Scot's minister in Sweden, Mr. Durie, that hath been employed by some well-disposed here in England, about a pacification in Germany between the Lutherans and Calvinists. He writes over to some of

his friends and benefactors, that the churches of Sweden have consented to this pacification; that they have composed a symbol of fundamentals, which both the Lutherans and Calvinists do hold without interfering one with another, leaving out all controverted points. But how this pacification will be accepted in Germany, of that we have heard nothing yet.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

January 11, 1636-7.

Some letters out of Ireland tell us, that my Lord Mountmorris, since my lord deputy's arrival there, is content to submit, to acknowledge the sentence of the martial court against him to be most just, and that he hath subscribed unto it, whereby he hath avoided, through the king's mercy, a very heavy sentence of the Castle Chamber Court, which is our Star Chamber, upon that bill exhibited against him for exaction and extortion of fees in some of those offices he held.

Also it is written, that the jury of Galway, that would not, upon full evidence given in, find his majesty's title to that country, have also submitted to the king's mercy, whereby they are not only released out of prison, but also about twelve of them being fined £4000 apiece in the Castle Chamber, their fines are drawn down to £8000 amongst them; not to be paid by equal portions, but to be proportioned according to their several abilities—some to pay more, and some to pay less.

Now, whereas three of the four counties of Connaught were all found by their several juries, by the evidence given in, to be his majesty's, the king demands but this composition of them: first, the fourth part of all those lands; and, for the other three parts, two-pence halfpenny per acre for yearly rent, besides fractions, which I understand not. But the county of Galway is not like altogether to speed so well, because they obstinately opposed his majesty's title at the trial; but finding since their error, they shall have some favour, though not in that measure with the other three counties. It is acknow-

ledged that my lord deputy does proper in all he takes in hand, his lordship does manage things with so much courage and wisdom.

I wrote lately of £150,000 of Spanish treasure which was put in at Dover; that two parts were to be coined at the Tower; the other third, by the agreement, was to go over to Dunkirk in specie. This third part is not yet gone over. The reason is, I hear, they cannot get a good convoy to go along with it. This was not wont to be so, but it is said the world is a little changed with the Spaniard.

The Spanish ambassador was at court Friday in the Christmas week, and had private audience with the king above two hours. But yet neither hath the English ship laden with Dunkirk goods been released, nor hath the Spaniard gotten a convoy for this treasure to his mind; and therefore, it is said, all that third part of the treasure shall be brought up to the Tower also to be coined, as being the cheaper way, rather than be at the charge of hiring a convoy.

The west counties having been much oppressed by pirates, have often petitioned the board for licence to set out ships to take these pirates to their best advantage, so to secure their coasts; but because such a licence might have much prejudiced the admiralty, it was not over-suddenly granted. But yet now lately their petition is granted, by reason of the continual clamours of this great oppression of the Turks upon their poor seamen, and others.

The last week died the lieger ambassador of France, Mons. * * *. He had the reputation of a very honest man. It is said, that since his coming into England he never received one sou of his entertainment from the state of France, but spent of his own estate.

Upon Twelfth-day the East India Company went to Hampton Court, to petition his majesty to give them leave to sue those merchants and others that set out the ship the Roebuck, for reparation of all such damages they sustained in the Indies, by reason of the piracies committed in the Red Sea by the Roebuck. Also they desired his

majesty would please to give his letters, to be sent to the great mogul, and to the governor of Surat, to disavow his giving any way to any of his subjects for the committing of any such piracies. His majesty was pleased not only to grant their petition, but to give a most gracious hearing to the reading of the long relation of all the particulars of the piracy, of their torturing the poor Mahometans, as it was sent out of the Indies. His majesty was most piously sensible of many passages in it, which mentioned the dishonour of our nation, the dishonour of God (which should have been first), and the ruin of that trade; and all by this late cruel piracy. His majesty was pleased to take notice, that he knew of the going out of these ships, the Roebuck and the Samaritan; but did utterly disavow that he gave any commission to do any act like this, and therefore they should all answer it.

It was resolved, that the term must be kept in London; but it was lately questioned, by reason that the two last sick Bills have increased in and about London. His majesty hath sent his letters to the lord mayor of London, and also to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with instructions what they shall do in their several jurisdictions for preventing the increase of this infection, which doth not only keep his majesty from London, but does also infinitely distract his majesty's affairs at present.

Tuesday, this last week, their majesties came to Somerset House to lodge there. Wednesday morning, his majesty went to Arundel House, to see those rarities which my lord marshal had brought out of Germany. One of those rarities is a manuscript, most curiously written in vellum, of the way how to make the elixir and the philosopher's stone; which, though my lord marshal may have no great faith to accomplish by this manuscript, yet, for curiosity's sake, he was content to purchase it at Ratisbon, being presented him there for the price of fifty rix-dollars.¹

Sunday last, there was read in some churches, in the afternoon, in the city, some directions from the Lords of

¹ The delusions of alchymy still exercised a powerful influence over the minds of men even of education and intelligence.

the council; first, that all such householders as had lived in the country all the time of the infection, whose houses in and about the city had been infected, these were forbidden to return to their houses before the next justice of the peace should give way to it; which he shall not do until he be assured that those same infected houses, and all the stuff in them, have been thoroughly aired; for, indeed, the want of this care hath been the cause of the increase of the plague in some of these last weeks. Also, no lodgers are to be admitted this next term in any of these said infected houses, but by the next justice of peace's approbation, as aforesaid.

Upon Twelfth-night, the Royal Slave,¹ which had been acted at Oxford before their majesties the last summer, was acted by the king's players at Hampton Court. These players had procured from the university all their apparel and the scenes, which the university did not altogether approve of; yet they lent them, but with a letter to my lord chamberlain, that because they had provided that entertainment only for their majesties against their coming to Oxford, they humbly besought, that what they had done for the entertainment of their majesties might not be made common upon a stage. And this was the request of the university in general.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

January 17, 1636-7.

Some of his majesty's council learned by assoilment, have been searching the records in the Rolls, as also in the Tower, to find out some precedents where his majesty's subjects, that hold their lands by knight's service or by escuage, or by carnidge (which last is blowing of a horn upon the marches of Scotland or Wales before they were annexed to the crown), have by virtue of these tenures served his majesty in his wars beyond the seas; and when they could not go in person, they had either supplied their place with a good man, or paid a certain yearly sum of money for the finding of some other. There

¹ Written by William Cartwright, M.A., student at Christ Church, Oxford.

were many commissions found in the Rolls, but not one so full as was looked for. How they sped in the Tower records, that I do not know.

The Bishop of Lincoln hath sent to the board letters of complaint against one Shelley, as assessor of ship-money in his lordship's town of Bugden; as also against Sir Robert Osborne, a justice of the peace thereabouts. The business I cannot learn perfectly. Thus I hear it: because the constable did not comply with Shelley in the manner of his assessing, therefore does Shelley snatch the roll out of the constable's hand, and put it up in his pocket, and would not return it back again, which the bishop understanding, he commits Shelley to the jail, without bail or mainprise. But Sir Robert Osborne approving what Shelley would have done, he bails him. Of this the bishop complains; and so possesseth their lordships by his letter, as if he had been very zealous to do his majesty service, which their lordships do apprehend, and thereupon return the bishop letter of thanks. Yet, when this business was in agitation, there was an attachment granted out of the Star Chamber Court against the bishop for not bringing in a commission for his examination of witnesses; which his lordship having notice of, he sends it in before this attachment was signed, saying, he had thought the Star Chamber office had not opened during the twelve days, and that was the reason he delayed putting it in according to the day appointed.

The bishop's cause will be put off till the first day in Easter term; because, before it can come to hearing, some orders about expunging of witnesses must be settled in court in that cause: but then both bills will be ready for hearing. Upon the bishop's complaint, Shelley was sent for up. He tells a fair tale for himself, casting all the blame upon the bishop; that the lords are all at a stand; and therefore they have appointed a day to hear all parties. Some say that Shelley's report makes the bishop to have done his majesty a great disservice; and that he, having eight hundred acres of land in that town, he would have forced it from being charged with ship-money, and have laid it upon the poorer townsmen. But, whether this be

true or no, I am yet uncertain till their lordships have heard all parties.

Wednesday, the 18th, the queen comes to lodge at Somerset House. The king goes to Theobald's. They both meet at St. James upon Saturday, to keep there. The household comes to Whitehall; but the lords of the council meet at the Star Chamber, because they will not draw too much company to the king's house at Whitehall this time of infection.

Sir Robert Howard, according to their lordships' letter, attended at the court to know their lordships' pleasure. My lord's grace being made acquainted with it by his brother, Sir William Howard, his grace told him his proofs were not ready. His majesty coming into the room at that instant, and knowing what the business was, his grace did protest to his majesty he honoured that family, but was zealous to prevent the living in such a train as Sir Robert Howard and my Lady Purbeck had been accused for: that though his proofs were not ready at present, yet he doubted not but he should prove that Sir Robert Howard and my Lady Purbeck had met privately together this last summer. His grace did reprove Sir Robert Howard's living so much at Dover Castle, which was too near to France, but wished Sir Robert Howard to live at Audley End until he had more leisure to question him for breaking his bonds.

This last week, the East India Company served one Kenestone, belonging to the Custom House, first with a writ *ne exeat regno*; then they laid an action upon him of £10,000, for damage done them in the Indies by the ship the Roebuck, which he is said, with some others, to have sent out. Bonele, which was Sir William Courteen's man, was also to be served; but he is fallen desperately sick. Young Courteen is also to be served; but there is a little demur whether an executor is liable to answer damages. I do hear amongst the merchants that there is no great question to be made of it, but having the estate, he shall be responsible for damages. Kenestone can get no bail; therefore, he lies in the Compter.

I hear that Endymion Porter hath been with my lord keeper. to move his lordship that some more mild course

might be taken in this business, that honest poor men might not be undone. But I hear the East India Company will not be taken off. It is said by some that Mr. Porter had a chief adventure in the Roebuck, but no action is laid against him, unless his partners do bring him in. This suit is to be laid in the Court of Admiralty, before Sir Henry Martin.

The Spanish treasure is at last gone for Dunkirk. His majesty had one half per cent. So one of his majesty's ships did convey it over. But there hath been much difficulty about it, as some of the agents to procure it were extremely tired about it.

There are half a score of the merchants' ships of the greatest burthen taken up in the river Thames, for the king's service, to be filled against the spring; but there is a little question whether the owners will victual them and pay seamen's wages. The last year, the king allowed £3 a man monthly, which was good pay. His majesty will allow so much this year, but he will abate the third part of the men: because it is confessed all the ships were overmanned which had infection amongst them, though not of the plague, yet of other diseases. The owners are well enough pleased with it, if so they might have larger allowance for those men, towards the wear and tear of their ships: for, whereas the past year they had £300 for their ships, they are like by this reckoning to have but £200 per month this year, which they are loth to consent to. But if they refuse, the king will victual and pay the wages, and allow them, by the statute, but half-a-crown per ton monthly for their ships, according to the burthen of each of them, which would be a much greater loss unto them, which they know well, and therefore they will be better advised, and take his majesty's offer. By this great abatement of seamen, there will be the more to serve the merchants in their voyages, which is taken into consideration.

The talk at court is, that my Lord Edward Howard shall marry the widow of Sir Francis Crane. One report makes her worth £20,000 in personal estate, and £2000 yearly jointure. Another report abates to £5000 yearly estate and £1400 jointure.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

February 1, 1636-7.

The last Wednesday there was one John Wray, a merchant, fined in the Star Chamber, £2000, imprisonment, good behaviour, and to be examined upon oath what other delinquents he can discover for the same offence he is punished for, which was for transfer of fuller's earth. He confessed he had transported sixty-four loads, which cost six shillings the load, which he sold at Rotterdam at ten shillings the barrel. He paid no custom, and it was prohibited by two proclamations. Lord Finch alleged that a bill had passed the Lower House to make transport of wool, felts, and fuller's earth, to be felony. My lord's grace said that the Hollander cannot make cloth without soap, if we keep from them our fuller's earth. Wray saith there was no custom due for transport of fuller's earth, because it was prohibited: which my lord keeper denied, and said there was custom due. Upon Wray's undertaking that no fullers' earth shall be transported hereafter, the lords did promise to mediate for the king's mercy.

Sir James Bugge's cause, plaintiff and defendant with my Lord Mohun, was put off by his majesty's letter till the next term.

There hath been another quarrel lately at court between Will Crofts and Mr. Goring, thus. Mr. Crofts came to Hampton Court Garden, and sent to call to him Mr. Berkeley, who is going for Sweden. He desires Mr. Berkeley to call Harry Jermyn, promising to speak nothing to him in repetition of old grievances. Mr. Jermyn is called. One present saith Mr. Crofts did renew his old quarrel, contrary to his promise, for which Mr. Berkeley would have questioned him, but that Mr. Goring took it to do himself. The other report saith, that Will Crofts did compliment with Mr. Jermyn, desiring him to renew old friendship before his going out of England. All this he spake aloud to satisfy Mr. Berkeley. And then he takes Harry Jermyn aside, and then he challenges him, which was accepted; the length of the weapons given, and the place to fight in

appointed. Sir Frederick Cornwallis¹ is Harry Jermyn's second. That day they were to fight comes my Lord Wentworth to Mr. Berkeley's chamber, he being in bed, and desires to know of him where the place of fighting was appointed, for Mr. Crofts had quite forgot it. Mr. Berkeley tells my Lord Wentworth he was no fomenter of quarrels, and desired to be excused. Mrs. Seymour taking notice of this quarrel, acquaints their majesties with it. The king presently sends to my lord chamberlain to prevent their fighting. His lordship sends to Mr. Jermyn, who returns, that all was ended between them. And how it ended I hear not, unless it was that Mr. Crofts did not meet. He is now gone for France. It is said he was jealous that Mr. Jermyn did him some ill offices at court, which kept back his restoring hither.

Friday last, seven merchants of London were fined £17,000 in the Star Chamber for transportation of gold. Some are fined deeper than other some. The same day there were two *ore tenus*; one man for counterfeiting my Lord Dorset's hand to the commissions for building, that they should not pull down some houses that were built this summer contrary to the proclamation of building. There were two other men sentenced for counterfeiting divers of the lords' hands, to fetch before them Sir William Courteen, and one Abraham Becke, both very rich men. Of these two they got fifty, which betrayed them to the hands of justice.

I do hear that all that the emperor's agent had to say to his majesty at his last audience, was only that a King of the Romans was elected and crowned; which it is said his majesty took very ill, the rather because it was expected the agent should have somewhat concerning my lord marshal's embassy.

Some letters from Ireland tell us that my Lord Mountmorris hath submitted to his majesty thus. He was made acquainted that it was his majesty's pleasure he should make such a submission as my lord deputy should approve of. My lord deputy, therefore, sent his lordship a sub-

¹ Created Lord Cornwallis, of Eye, in Suffolk, April 20, 1661. He died January 3, of the following year.

mission fairly written, and required his lordship to subscribe it, which his lordship did very willingly, never so much as reading it over. This being brought to his lordship, and the manner of his subscribing it related, my lord deputy within a few days after causeth my Lord Mountmorris to be brought into the Star Chamber there before the lords and the judges. This paper, with my lord Mountmorris's hand subscribed, was presented to him. He was asked whether that were his hand or no, which he confessed to be his hand. Then was the paper given to one of the clerks to be read, that the whole court might be witness to his lordship's submission, and then his lordship was released out of prison. I do hear my lord Mountmorris was not pleased that his submission was so publicly read. His submission to my lord deputy is not yet made; so it is written.

I cannot yet learn whether the argument will be pleaded this term between the king and the subject, concerning the legality of the writ for the levying of ship money. The Earl of Lincoln and my Lord Say do prosecute the under sheriffs for distraining their goods. I am told it is likely to be argued before all the judges in the Exchequer Chamber. It is said Mr. Solicitor is provided for the king; but I hear the subjects' counsel is not yet ready for it.

One tells me that in the last assizes, before Judge Jones,¹ in Shropshire, this ship-writ was tried. An under sheriff was prosecuted for distraining, and a jury there found it for the king against the subject. But I will learn the truth of it, and set it down in some of my next.

The sheriff of Essex lately did assess an hundred near unto him at so much. Then he sent to the high constables to proportion it to the several towns and persons, which they did not do in the time limited. He sends to them a second time and gives them so many days more; but they were as negligent as before. The high sheriff taking notice of their carelessness, he forthwith gets half a dozen of waggons. With these he goes in person to the houses of the aforesaid high constables, and distrains their goods, which he causeth to be put into these waggons. Then he sells them, so raiseth that sum of money laid upon the whole hundred.

¹ Sir William Jones, one of the Justices of the King's Bench.

Mr. Stroud, that lives in Dorsetshire, was lately sent for up to the board by a pursuivant, thus :—He refuses to pay the ship money. He was distrained. He sues to the sheriff for a replevin, which was denied him. He goes to the county court. There he gets it to replevin his goods from the under sheriff, for which he came up to the board this last week; and being questioned about it by his majesty himself, he pleaded that he was over-rated, and that made him get a replevin, which he would not otherwise have done; and so he hath got free of his pursuivant; but he is to pay the pursuivant's fees.

His majesty taking into consideration the increase of the plague in Westminster, and in St. Martin's parish, he hath therefore given order to all the judges to despatch the business of the term, and for the Lent assizes to be all done by the end of the term, that the people may retire out of the city, so to avoid the increase of the plague, so much as may be.

Friday last, the East India Company were with his majesty. He required them to take small bail, £13,000, to let Kenestone out of prison, who was clapped up upon an action of £100,000. Though the Company had no great stomach to it, yet, to give his majesty content, who desired it, they did release him upon Monday following.

The old Countess of Derby ¹ is lately dead.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

February 7, 1636-7.

There hath been much looking out to find the author of that scandalous book, entitled, "News from Ipswich." A great bundle of these kind of prohibited books were lately taken in one Mr. Boye's house, a silenced minister dwelling in an alley in Coleman Street: but the minister himself was not taken; and since he hath concealed himself.

The pursuivants have been waiting about these six weeks to take Mr. Burton, a London minister,² of whom I

¹ Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, in Nottinghamshire, and wife of Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, who died April 10, 1594. The Countess died January 26, 1636-7.

² Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street.

have written before. He is had in great suspicion to be the author of "News from Ipswich." So much they have against him, that a hundred of those books were sent down to a clothier in the county of Gloucester, to dispense them abroad in the country at eightpence apiece, afterwards the money to be returned up to London to be paid to Mr. Burton. These books were sent to the clothier without any charge that he should be wary to whom he distributed them. And he being careless, my lord's grace had some notice of them. It is well known this clothier is a very precise man, and full of zeal to have dispersed these books, therefore he is to expect little mercy in the way of justice.

Wednesday night this last week, my lord treasurer's servant Dandy, by a warrant under divers of the lords of the councils' hands, came to Mr. Burton's house in London, and by the assistance of some constables, and one of the sheriffs of London, he broke open his doors and seized upon his person. Tuesday night, Mr. Burton was carried to the Fleet, and there made close prisoner, because he will not take an oath *ex officio*, to make true answers to all such articles as are exhibited unto him out of the High Commission Court. By virtue of that high commission, that court does not only confine a man to close imprisonment that refuseth to take the oath *ex officio*, but also there is power given, that the party refusing shall have a fine laid upon him some High Commission Court-day, which is some Thursday in the term. It is supposed Mr. Burton is careless of this fine, being suspended from the profits of his living, which was all his livelihood; and now he hath no more to lose. Friday last, his wife came to the lords of the council, to divers of them apart, and presented them with an appeal drawn by her husband, during his house-keeping, which was all the time the pursuivants did look out for him. This appeal is from the high commission; upon which court, it is said, he doth cast many foul aspersions, which still doth aggravate Mr. Burton's offence. His wife was the same day, by order of the board, sent a prisoner to the Fleet for presenting these appeals.

The distraining for non-payment of the ship-money was

not tried before Judge Jones, as in my last. However, all things were ready for the trial. Counsel were fee'd on both sides. Mr. Serjeant Cresswell was for the king. But a juror was withdrawn, that it might be tried at Westminster Hall at more leisure.

The last week, the high sheriff of Essex, that was this last year, was served with a writ of *scire facias* out of the exchequer, to return the names of about three score refusers of ship-money in that county. I do hear, by some of those whose names are to be returned, that they have no disposition to plead against the king, neither yet have they resolved to pay their money. There is some kind of hope, that some of them have, that my lord's grace, with some others of the lords, will join to move the king to remit this trial, to let fall the ship-money; then to call a parliament. But, for aught I can learn, this is a most fond fancy, which they will find to be so in a few days. What hath been the ground of this supposition I cannot learn, unless it be that the king's agent, M. Augier's, coming to court this last week, who brings the assurance from France that the French will conclude no peace with the house of Austria, but that shall have relation to the restoring of the Palatinate. But as the French do promise this, so they expect the performance of some promises upon our part; but what they are I do not yet know.

M. Augier hath not brought over, as was expected, a full ratification of those articles in treaty between France and us ever since my lord of Leicester's going to France; but only that the French will treat upon them, and that they are in a fair way of agreement. It is supposed this delay may be, because, without the consent of the lords, the States of the United Provinces, the French may conclude no more treaties, being in a league, offensive and defensive, with the Low Countries.

Tuesday, this last week, the Spanish ambassador had audience. It is supposed he took notice of that rumour which was spread all the town over, that his majesty had given way that the prince elector should set out ships to the prejudice of his master, the king of Spain. That, therefore, he required audience to understand from his

majesty how far he had given way to it. It was observed that the ambassador's countenance was very cheerful at his going into his majesty's presence, but very cloudy at his return, which was very speedy; such a short audience as the Spanish ambassador's have not been accustomed unto here these many years.

His majesty sits very often in the council with the junto for foreign affairs. All is said to be about the Prince Elector Palatine. I am told we shall have some declaration very suddenly printed and published against the house of Austria, to protest against those new wrongs done to the Prince Elector Palatine.

We have very late letters from Sweden of the arrival of Sir George Fleetwood, colonel, whom his majesty sent over after Michaelmas, that he was heartily received by the state there, and much the rather because of those propositions he brought with him from his majesty; and, saith the letter, whereas, the Swedes were treating of a peace in Germany, upon the arrival of Sir George Fleetwood with these new propositions, the Swedes did fully resolve to break off all treaties of peace.

Some letters from Paris tell us of three English committed to the Bastille: Sir Thomas Gage, a young gentleman of Bon College, in Paris; Mr. Yatts; and, two days after them, Father Talbot. The perfect cause of their imprisonment this letter mentions not. Three causes are suspected for Mr. Yatts's imprisonment, that he hath either clipt or rounded the Spanish pistoles, or that he hath let fall some words against the State, or that he hath given some intelligence of the State of France to the State of Spain. This is all we do yet hear touching their confinements.

Friday last, the lords heard that difference between the Bishop of Lincoln and Shelley, as in some of my last. I hear it did appear upon examination that the bishop was much to blame. He would have taken in that roll where he was cessed £11 or £12 (I know not whether), to have made a new roll to have eased himself, and to have laid upon divers poor people that received alms of the parish (as it was the last year). The bishop was over-passionate,

and Shelley was not so dutiful as it became him. The lords spent much time to hear it, but concluded nothing at all against the bishop, because the king had all his rights.

The judges are to begin their circuit the next day after the term, that the town may be cleared of as many people as have business in the country.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

February 14, 1636-7.

There have been rumours about the town this last term that his majesty's attorney-general should be removed, and some other be put in his place. The ground of this report was the complaint of one Cralett, a goldsmith in Lombard Street, against Mr. Attorney's man, Cockshott, who was accused to have left out of the Star Chamber bill some rich men that had been transporting of gold, and that he had only been prosecuting such men as were not able to pay the king the one-half of the fine imposed upon them. This complaint reflected much upon the attorney. My lord keeper and my lord's grace had the examination of it. Their lordships, having fully examined the business, found Mr. Cockshott clear of all those charges laid against him; and Mr. Attorney was found to have exceeded his predecessors in his diligent prosecuting of those delinquents. And so it certified to his majesty: whereupon the king, in the presence of his lords, took notice of this report, the attorney being in presence. He also acknowledged the faithful and good service of his attorney; telling his attorney that he was his friend, and although he had many enemies, yet, so long as he was his friend, they should do him no harm: and much more to this purpose. Then gave the attorney his hand to kiss in token of his favour.

I do hear that one Mr. Cole, a justice of the peace, about Haverill, in Suffolk, giving the charge the last session at Bury, among other things gave this in his charge. That if they knew any who used on Sundays any of those sports permitted in the king's book, and against the statute, or any minister that shall or doth refuse to administer the communion to any unless he come up and

kneel at the rail before the communion-table, that they should indict them, both the one and the other.

In some church within the county of Bedford, there was lately an altar of stone, with four pillars altarwise erected. It seems there had been one there before: for, in digging thereabouts, the altar-stone was found in the ground. This being complained of to the diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln, he came to the church to see if it were so, yea or no, and finding it there, his lordship caused it, in his own presence, to be digged up, and to be taken quite away, telling the parson that, if he pleased, he might set the communion-table there, but altars were forbidden by the statute.

In that business between the bishop and Shelley, wherein the bishop was so passionate, upon the relating it to his majesty, the king hath commanded the Lords to allow Shelley good costs, because the bishop hath so much troubled him, besides Shelley's false imprisonment.

Thursday, my Lord Say's counsel moved, in the Bench, that he having sued the sheriffs upon an action of *trover*, and conversion, for taking two of his oxen for not paying ship-money, which was a business of great consequence, therefore his lordship moved it might be tried at the King's Bench bar, and not at the assizes. The king's counsel being called for, and appearing, they moved against my Lord Say and the sheriffs for a combination, because the sheriffs had pleaded not guilty. Whereupon, my Lord Say's counsel moved that a day might be appointed against the next term. In the mean time, they consented that the defendant might mend his plea, which the king's counsel accepted of; so a day was granted.

Some day this last week, all the judges met about the legality of the ship-writ: and it is generally said that they have all subscribed that his majesty may, in times of necessity, impose what sums of money he pleaseth upon the subjects for defence of the kingdom, for setting out of ships, for providing of ammunition; and that it is only in the king's breast to determine all those times of necessity. There was a talk that this shall be entered into all the courts at Westminster. Indeed, I have heard that his

majesty should so far declare himself that, but in times of necessity, he would never send out those writs, which his loving subjects should find, when those times of necessity were once over; but now that his prerogative in the Narrow Seas was questioned, it was high time to vindicate it. It is well known that the Cardinal Richelieu hath had a long design to make the French king the lord paramount of the Narrow Seas, which is now no more thought of, since his majesty's fleets have been abroad. Yet we have a very late complaint, that, as Sir Henry Martin, with one of the king's ships, and a whelp, was wafting over about fifty barques, laden with Spanish silver, three or four French ships put out of Calais to have taken some of those barques. That they kept out their French colours, and to windward of the king's ship. And when Sir Henry Martin discharged out of the great ship upon them, they let fly again at the whelp, refusing either to take down their flag, or to come to leeward of the king's ships, which, as his majesty is lord of the seas, they ought to have done.

Wednesday last week, there was a cause heard at the council-table about the sealing of Ireland. Some had gotten a grant of the king to seal iron, pretending the subject was much abused. Therefore, to prevent abuses, they undertook, with two seals, to distinguish the better from the worse. They had licence towards their charges, to impose so much upon the ton of iron as amounted to eight shillings and tenpence the ton. The king's rent was but a hundred marks a-year, and, by computation, they would raise £15,000 a-year. Whereupon, said my lord privy seal, it is fit the king shall have £10,000 a-year out of it. Their lordships did appoint, to hear the business more at large, the Sunday following; for the iron-masters in Sussex and elsewhere refused to pay the imposition, and did endeavour to prove this grant, besides the imposition of eight shillings and tenpence, to be otherwise very prejudicial to the subject, and to themselves in particular. It is said my Lord Marquis Hamilton had a share in this patent. Upon Thursday, his majesty sent to the Lords not to meddle any more in that cause till he should give further order about it.

Those Englishmen which were committed to the Bastille, their offence, I hear, is that Father Talbot, the Jesuit, hath been a long intelligencer to Spain, and that he sent his despatches sometimes by Sir Thomas Gage, and other-times by Mr. Yatts, besides the suspicion of Yatts's rounding of pistoles.

Saturday, the king's counsel moved, in the King's Bench, that the defendant sheriff to my Lord Say's declaration, that no plea of his to my Lord Say might be taken, unless the king's counsel's hands were to that plea; for it was supposed that both plaintiff and defendant did hasten to bring this cause to trial at the assizes.

Sunday, the opinion of the judges about the ship-writ, of the lawfulness of it in times of necessity, before said, with their names subscribed, was read at the council-board, to be recorded to clear that difference in after-ages.¹

Saturday, the protestation against the election of a King of the Romans, and the translating the Palatinate and Electorate upon the Duke of Bavaria, came out in print in the Prince Elector's name; but so modestly set down, as, with more modesty, it could not have been expressed.

It is said his majesty is very suddenly to publish his manifesto of all those several treaties, and promises made for the restoring of the Prince Elector's honours, dignities, and dominions back again.

The Lady Davis, that was sent for before Christmas by a warrant from the board for her misdemeanour in the cathedral of Litchfield, is now come up, and to go to Bethlehem to lodge there. But she is so poor, as the question is at the board, who shall maintain her there. It is ordered that her husband shall be sought out, and, if he shall refuse to allow her competent maintenance out of her own jointure, then so much shall be levied upon those lands, whether he will or no.

Saturday, the following cause was tried at the Exchequer Bar. A great, rich Spaniard, sometime a customer in some of the King of Spain's ports, came into England to

¹ John Hampden had brought the legality of levying ship-money as a question for the consideration of the Court of Exchequer, and although the twelve judges, after twelve days' deliberation, decided against him, the gross injustice of this acted as a lever on the public mind, in a manner most injurious to the crown.

live here, and brought a great estate with him, as fearing to be called in question, to give an account how he raised his estate. The last spring, he had a great quantity of treasure brought him from Spain with his money. There was about a £1000 in jewels, set and unset, all which came here amongst the money to pay no custom. It was made known to one of the searchers at the Custom House that this Spaniard had jewels, which he showed to such as came to his house, in the nature of merchandize. They, therefore, got a warrant to search his house. They find them, and take them all away. He brings an action against them. He pleads they were his wearing jewels; that he was no merchant; that he never sold jewels, or anything else, by the way of merchandize, all days of his life. I cannot learn that ever he sold any jewels, but it seems he was proved to be a merchant of other commodities, which he yet denies; so all his jewels were confiscated.

I hear of a proclamation coming out, to raise powder from 12*d.* to 18*d.* the pound, which is £1 10*s.* the barrel. But the king is to have the benefit of it.

Mr. E. R. to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

February 21, 1636-7.

All this (the king's letter and question to the judges about ship-money, and the judge's answer¹) being read upon Tuesday last week in the Star Chamber, my lord keeper debated upon it in his charge, saying, that the judges are the king's witnesses of his benign proceedings; that the lands and lives of all the subjects were determinable by the judges: a command to enter this into all courts, to the end that every refuser may reform himself: great honour to the king that he descends to have his prerogative determined by the judges, that justice and mercy may meet. All that will refuse to pay this ship-money may sue and have the law open: but then the king's council must be made acquainted with it. If any one oppose, he shows his ignorance: and the younger lawyers, sons of the

¹ Printed in Rushworth, vol. ii.

law, are not to dissent against the fathers of the law, who have given their judgments of the lawfulness of this writ.

The same day, my Lord Finch¹ moved, that Mr. Attorney should bring into the Star Chamber the author and the printer of a book which sets down the opinion and judgments of the judges upon the interpretation of several of the statutes; which book hath been abroad these three or four years, so I hear.

Also, the same day, the judge's opinion, which is in the nature of a decree, was read concerning inmates, to stop the increase of them, which breeds such mischief in the Commonwealth. It was, that all such inmates which fell to decay, and so to be kept by the parish, they were to be continued in their houses rent-free, and to be kept at the only charge of the landlord which admitted them.

Now, concerning the sixty Essex refusers that were to appear in the Exchequer by a *scire facias*. Wednesday, the 8th of this February, they appeared, and the rule of the court was, they should put in their plea the Saturday following.

Thursday, Sir Richard Saltonstone petitioned the lord chief baron² to assign him counsel, but his lordship would not do it alone. Friday, he petitioned in court, but the chief baron being absent, it was neither granted nor denied. Saturday, he appears again, as fearing judgment upon a *nihil dicit*; and, at the rising of the court, moves again for counsel to be assigned him, and time, till the first day of next term, to put in his plea. He hath counsel assigned, but must bring in his plea the Monday following.

Monday, Mr. Attorney moves for judgment against all the Essex refusers, upon a *nihil dicit*, for not one had appeared, only Sir Richard Saltonstone, who moves again for longer time to bring in his plea, alleging the return of the sheriff was so uncertain, he could ground no plea upon it until both the sheriffs had agreed upon the rule. For Sir Cranmer Harvey had rated him but £4, and Sir Humphrey Mildmay had returned him £8 for one and the same writ. The attorney alleged it was against the

¹ Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

² Sir Humphrey Davenport.

rules of the court to give two rules against the king : and also, that this was only to protract time. So the barons did order Sir Richard Saltonstone to deposit the £8 in court, then to have till the next day to bring in both the sheriffs to settle the rate, whether it were £4 or £8, which his counsel did yield unto.

But judgment passed upon the other refusers upon a *nihil dicit*. And now this £8 is deposited, it is yet a question what manner of proceeding will be upon the putting in of the plea.

Thursday, the king sat in council, to hear the differences between William Sandys, Esq., plaintiff, and Sir William Russel, defendant. Sandys hath undertaken to make the river Avon, in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Warwick, navigable, by an invention he hath, and was encouraged to do it by the general approbation of the principal men of those counties, and of the towns corporate through which this river of Avon runs, it being eighty miles in a deep vale ; counties most part of the year not passable with carts. His majesty, finding Sir William Russel to have mainly opposed this public service in a popular way, pretending the great prejudice of the counties, and that to hinder this work, by his procurement, many riots were committed, he was very earnest to have his attorney to have put a bill in the Star Chamber against him ; but yet at last was pleased only to send him to the Fleet until he should submit and conform to his majesty's commoners, the best men some of them in those counties.

Friday, the justice in Eyre sat in Essex forest. He gave charge to the high sheriff to pull down all fences within the bounds of the forest, as brick walls, pales, &c., that the deer might have their full range. It is believed this charge will draw those within the forest to a composition.

One Mr. Bonham made his most humble submission in that court, for killing a stag and the daughter of a hind ; acknowledging the offence to be of so transcendant a nature, that his whole estate and his liberty rested wholly at the king's mercy, and much more to this purpose.

He was fined £500, and imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

The same day, there were divers merchants and goldsmiths fined in the Star Chamber, about transporting of coin. There are pretty cases in this sentence, which I will learn, to set down in my next letter.

Sunday last, the arrears of ship-money uncollected yet in Northamptonshire came in question at the council-table, where it appears that Sir John Dryden and Mr. Cockayne, the two last high sheriffs successively, had not performed their duties, in distraining for non-payment of the ship-money, of the last writ before this now in collecting; which writ was directed to Sir John Dryden, but Mr. Cockayne succeeding him, the fault lies upon both of them; therefore, they are like to be made examples: for Mr. Attorney hath order from his majesty to exhibit an information into the Star Chamber against both of them.

[The letters for several months are wanting in this collection; but this may partly be accounted for, by the death of Sir Thomas Puckering, which terminated the correspondence which had been carried on so long and zealously.

Extract of a letter of Edward Norgate, Esq.¹ to Robert Read, Esq., secretary to Sir Francis Windebank,² in Drury Lane.

Barwick, May 29, 1639.

The king made an halt at Alnwick, upon some alarm that was in the camp, whereof he received information

¹ Son of Robert Norgate, D.D., master of Corpus Christi or Bennett's College, Cambridge. He was one of the clerks of the signet to Charles I., and for his skill in ornamental and heraldic drawing was made Windsor Herald. He also possessed considerable knowledge and judgment in painting, for which talent he was employed by the Earl of Arundel to collect pictures for him in Italy. Fuller, in his "Worthies," styles him "a right honest man." He appears to have accompanied Charles I. in his expedition against the Scots, of which he gives a lively account. He died December 23, 1650.

² Secretary of State.

from my lord general, so that persons of great quality lay in their coaches, carts, &c., the town being little, and company great. So at Morpeth I staid, but the next day went on to Alnwick, whence the king was gone that morning to the army at Gaswick, five miles short of Barwick (for the alarm was false). The next morning, passing through Belfort (nothing like the name either in strength or beauty, it being the most miserably beggarly sodden town, or town of sods, that ever was made in an afternoon of loam and sticks), there I stumbled upon Mr. Murray, one of the cup-bearers to his majesty, who had taken up the every and only room in the only ale-house. Thither he kindly invited me to a place as good as a death's head, or memento for mortality; top, sole, and sides being all earth, and the beds no bigger than so many large coffins. Indeed it was, for beauty and conveniency, like a covered sawpit. Our host was a moving, uncleanly skeleton. I asked him who had condemned him thither. He said, *durum telum necessitas*; that he was fearful other gentlemen of quality (a horse troop), being billeted the night before at a little village three miles further, coming to the place after a long and weary march, found no other accommodation than a dark and rainy night; in all the town not one loaf of bread nor quart of beer, not a lock of hay nor peck of oats, and little shelter for horse or man; only a few hens they roasted and eat without bread, but not without water. Their horses had nothing. He told me I should find the army in little better condition, the foot companies having stood in water up to the ancles by reason of the rain: that in forty-eight hours they had no bread, nor other lodging but on the wet ground, the camp being low, near the sea-side, nor any shelter but the fair heavens.

After dinner I rode to the army, where I think there was not above seven thousand foot; the horse, elsewhere disposed into villages, about three thousand. There I found the cause of the late want was for want of carriages to bring bread to the army; but now they were better accommodated, yet lay *sub dio*. The king was in his tent,

about whose some of the lords had pitched theirs. I think none that loves him, but must wish the army ten times doubled, and those ten fifteen times better accommodated; especially seeing this town as ill provided as the other, and the hourly reports of the Scots advancing, ten thousand in one place, fifteen thousand in another, to second their fellows. Yet are we told they come with a petition, but it seems they mean to dictate the reference themselves, wherein I believe Sir Edward Powell will have little to do.

To this town (Barwick) I came last night, where Sir John Borrowes and I could hardly get a loaf of bread to our supper; a black cake we got, scarce edible. I went to Mr. Secretary's [Sir John Coke] to beg one, and had it given me with much difficulty; Mr. May protesting that his master was glad to send to my lord governor's for bread for him and his the day before, and that he got but two halfpenny loaves. This day, our host fetching us some to dinner, had it snatched from him by a soldier, who much complain. The people here say that, if some present and speedy order be not taken, they shall want bread for their families, the soldiers devouring what can be got; and the Scots, by whom it seems this town was formerly supplied with victual of all kinds, and that in a plentiful manner and cheap, being debarred, they fear, extremely the want of provisions; the country in Northumberland side being very barren, but plentiful beyond the boundred towards Scotland.

Rev. Arthur Jackson,¹ M.A., to A. Bownest.

London, July 10, 1640.

I would be most glad to see you at Stoneberry, but I fear my business will not permit me. And, besides, being full persuaded, so far as I yet see, that I have not now any long time to preach (unless God doth miraculously

¹ Rector of St. Michael Woodstock. He was educated at Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A., in which he was incorporated at Oxford, July 15, 1617. He was minister of St. Faith's, under Paul's, both before and at the time of the Restoration, but was ejected from that living for nonconformity, in 1662. He died August 5, 1666, at the age of 73.

help) I would willingly follow the plough as close as I can, before it be taken out of my hands. My brother will send you the book of new canons, wherein you will find an oath, which, if God be with me, I hope I shall never take. The Lord be merciful to us!

Upon Saturday last, all the silver and gold which merchants and goldsmiths had, as they were wont weekly, put into the mint, to have it out again in money coined, was stayed for the king's use. Mrs. Snow's son-in-law, Mr. Snell, had £4000 there. Mr. Noel, of my parish, £400; but many had many thousands. One goldsmith in Lombard Street, £47,000, which he had bought of several merchants, expecting to pay it when it came out of the Mint. The whole quantity of that which was stayed came to about £300,000. Great heart-burning this hath made in the city; and now, at last, it is come that they must lend the king of this £40,000, and be allowed to take the rest. It is thought this will overthrow the Mint, mar all trading, undo the best customers, and so turn at length to his majesty's extreme prejudice.

I hear also that the king hath taken £60,000 of Paul's money; but whether that be true or no, I know not.

Remember us, I pray, to my father and mother, and beg their prayers for us. Jo is going to take ship upon next, in troublesome times, God knows. I would have persuaded his master to have stayed his goods for a time, till I saw what the issue of these things would be; but he would not.

[The increasing sense of insecurity which was pervading the country, and the feverish state of excitement into which the people were thrown by the irritating measures of the government, if they did not check correspondence, made its preservation almost impossible. This accounts for the scarcity of news-letters after this date; but the great incidents of the time are so well known as to render such illustration the less necessary. With the year 1640,

commenced the last stage in the career of Strafford; the deliberations of a new Parliament, and its speedy dissolution; the commotions which ensued in consequence of this precipitate measure; the march of the Scottish Covenanters into England; the consent wrung from the king for another parliament; and its impeachment of Strafford, and his execution. Then followed the preparation of Charles for a struggle to support his authority; the raising the king's standard at Nottingham, and the organization of the popular force that was to be led against it; the rise of the parliamentary generals; the vain struggles of the victim against the power he had goaded into hostile action; the trial and execution of Laud; the final overthrow of the sovereign; and, last scene of all, the gloomy tragedy at Whitehall, in which a weak and selfish nature rose to the highest honours of martyrdom. With the close of the first month of the year 1649, the people of England beheld the hapless termination, by the hand of the executioner, of the reign of Charles the First.]

MEMOIRS
OF THE
MISSION IN ENGLAND
OF THE
CAPUCHIN FRIARS
OF THE PROVINCE OF PARIS,
FROM THE YEAR 1630 TO 1669.
BY FATHER CYPRIEN OF GAMACHE,
ONE OF THE CAPUCHINS BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD OF
HENRIETTA MARIA,
QUEEN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

INTRODUCTION.

The following Memoirs, now first translated from the original French manuscript, which has never been published, will be found to illustrate the collection of letters that precedes it, in a manner equally curious and interesting. Miss Strickland, in the eighth volume of her "Lives of the Queens of England," has frequently referred to the Memoirs of Père Cyprien of Gamache, which afforded her much interesting material for her admirable biography of Henrietta Maria; but it is impossible for the reader to form an adequate notion of this singular production without having it before him in its entire state. It has, therefore, been faithfully rendered into English, without the slightest alteration or omission. We refer to the writer for an account of himself; and, though he may be sometimes over-credulous and prejudiced in favour of his own faith and of his own religious order, he may be regarded as a new authority on many affairs of great importance that took place in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and, even down to the reign of Charles II., he brings forward evidence well worthy of consideration. But the chief point on which he is likely to be quoted, is the state of religious feeling in England in the seventeenth century, and the efforts made to bring back the people to the old faith. For this grand object, it will be seen that the Ca-

puchins,¹ of which fraternity Father Cyprien was so distinguished a member, were put forward as the chief agents; and certainly, if zeal and activity could have realized the purport of their mission, their labours would have been crowned with success; but the old system of religion had left such painful recollections in the mass of the population, that the impressive spectacles and the captivating oratory of the missionaries realized few and unimportant results, and the religion of the country, in its Puritan character, became more and more antagonistic to the Papacy. In the progress of these changes, the observant reader can scarcely fail to recognise the singular similarity of the efforts then made by the Roman Catholic Church to re-establish its old domination in these kingdoms, with those which have recently been in operation here, for the same object. The agents may have different names, but their powers are the same, and identical are their sources and purposes. By the religious world, peculiarly sensitive as it is at this period to every influence, the *Memoirs of Père Cyprien* are sure to be read with attention. We place it before them not only as a great Fact, but as a great Moral.

¹ The Capuchins were a branch of the Franciscans; for several interesting notices of their missions, the reader is referred to Ranke's "History of the Popes."

MISSION IN ENGLAND
OF THE
CAPUCHIN FRIARS
OF THE
PROVINCE OF PARIS.

“That man,” says the great St. Augustine, “is not a lover of equity, who dislikes to do a just and reasonable thing.” I should be guilty of this fault, if I were not to obey cheerfully the order of my superiors, to draw up some memoirs of my mission in England, since it concerns the glory of God and the honour of our Order. I comply with this command with as much submission as I feel regret at having received it so late; that is to say, after forty years spent in those virtuous and profitable duties: for, in that long space of time, having no other object but to gain souls for God, and to advance his glory, without having had the slightest thought of ever giving an account of my proceedings to others; nor could I recollect so many different occurrences, so many adventures, so many memorable actions; add to which, that all the Capuchins of that illustrious mission, in the first times, labouring with great zeal for the conversion of souls, said nothing about the happy success of their labours, too well satisfied that they should be known to God alone. Now that death has removed those good servants from this world, leaving me alone behind them, this narrative must of necessity forego many interesting conferences with the ministers, difficulties overcome, dangers escaped, conversion of Pro-

testants to the Catholic faith, and other remarkable circumstances: so that it will comprehend chiefly what has happened to myself individually, and much even of that is effaced from my memory at the age of seventy-four years to which I have attained. In what follows, I shall relate nothing of which I have not a perfect recollection.

Madame Henriette Marie de France, daughter of the great Henry IV., sister of King Louis XIII., was married to Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, son of James, the first of that name, King of Great Britain, in 1625. Very soon after her arrival in England, her quality of Princess of Wales was changed into that of Queen, by the death of her father-in-law, King James, and by the legitimate succession of the prince, her husband, to the royal dignity.¹ M. de Belule,² founder of the Oratory, afterwards Cardinal, had at that time great influence at the court of France, and he employed it in bringing about an agreement between the two crowns, that a certain number of Fathers of the Congregation should, with himself, attend that princess to England, and serve her in the functions of the chapel, under the authority and direction of Monseigneur, the Bishop of Mandes, our grand almoner.

The Fathers of the Oratory, on their arrival in London, were lodged in the suburb of St. James, in sight of the royal residence, to which access was not obtained of the sentries without extreme difficulty by the Catholics, who repaired thither to attend divine service.³ Besides this obstacle, which prevented those Fathers from promoting the affairs of religion, malicious spirits excited in the court a violent animosity in the English against the French, and a disagreement between the Queen's people and the Duke of Buckinkam, who stood high in the favour of the King, and who had the greatest share in the government of England.⁴ This disharmony increased

¹ The celebration of the marriage did not take place till after the death of James; therefore, Henrietta Maria was never Princess of Wales. See letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, vol. i., p. 18.

² Mentioned as le Père Berulle in the letter of Sir William Boswell, vol. i., p. 26.

³ Compare this with the account given of the proceedings of these priests, vol. i., p. 33.

⁴ The disputes between the two religions appear to have been first occasioned by

to such a degree, that the strong persuasions of the duke induced the King to resolve to order the French to leave England and to return to France, after he had told them that he would send one of the gentlemen of his court to the King his brother, to inform him of the causes of this dismissal.¹ Thus, the Fathers of the Oratory and the rest of the French quitted England, without any advancement of the Catholic religion.

The Queen was grieved at this dismissal, but was obliged to yield to necessity. One of the principal articles of her marriage was, that she should always have, in the chapel, the free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion; to this end, she was always to have priests; the King, her husband, therefore detained two of those of the Oratory, till matters should be arranged, and till others who were peaceable and disinterested should be given him.

The Duke of Buckinkam, who was no friend to the Cardinal de Richelieu, and who had been charged with the removal of the French, in order to annoy and embroil him in these generous and holy enterprises, induced, by his address and influence, the King of England to give a favourable reception to the rebel deputies of La Rochelle (besieged by the army of the King of France, its legitimate sovereign), and, to support their damnable rebellion, he strengthened it with a powerful naval force, the command of which he gave to this same Duke, who was particularly solicitous to obtain that post.

As soon as the ships were equipped and supplied with all necessary stores, he set sail and steered for the Isle of Rhé, where at first he had some advantage, but which lasted not long: for soon afterwards he saw, with extreme grief, his whole force put to the rout by the violent attacks of the Sieur de Thoyras, who commanded in that island. Part of his troops were cut in pieces, the cavalry lost in the marshes, four pieces of cannon and forty-four colours taken, sixteen hundred men killed, without

the new queen dismissing her Protestant servants, and acting in an insulting manner on many occasions. See vol. i., p. 39, 40, 50. Her priests now began to be very troublesome, and displayed very little discretion. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹ See vol. i., p. 119, 134, &c., for a full account of this proceeding.

reckoning those who were drowned in their great haste to regain their ships; six score prisoners, among whom were the general of the cavalry, five captains, twelve gentlemen, whom the King of France soon set at liberty, generously sending them back to the Queen of England, his dear sister.¹

This noble civility did not prevent the King, her husband, from equipping a new armament of one hundred and forty ships, the command of which he gave to the Earl d'Amby [Denbigh], who filled the place of the Duke of Buckinkam, assassinated in England, when he was taking leave of a gentleman and on the point of putting to sea. The fleet, having a fair wind, anchored off St. Martin de Rhé, when all the soldiers landed from their ships and made their attacks, which were received by the French with such firmness, and repelled with such vigour, that, after losing a number of their men, two transports, and a fire-ship of forty tons, they found themselves obliged to return to England. However, the republic of Venice applied itself so successfully to the reconciliation of the two courts, that it saw the mediation crowned with a noble peace.²

It was accompanied with many conditions which related to religion and the State. It was necessary to keep up the exercise and the various functions of the Catholic religion in the chapel of the Queen of England; for this purpose, it was requisite to send her several priests.³ The most Christian King Louis XIII., and the queen-mother, Mary de Medicis, esteemed the Capuchins, and honoured them with their affection; they even kept about their royal persons the Reverend Father Joseph of Paris, Capuchin preacher, a man of extraordinary understanding, profound learning, and eminent virtue, who had governed for several years the province of Touraine in quality of Provincial with remarkable prudence. Among so many virtuous and learned priests,

¹ The whole of this precious enterprise will be found narrated in the first volume of this work.

² Father Cyprien hurries over many important events; but these have already been related at sufficient length.

³ They are first announced at p. 418, vol. i, again vol. ii., p. 35—47.

regular and secular, who greatly contribute to the splendour of France, the Capuchins had the honour to be selected and appointed by the Most Christian King to go to England. He arranged that ten Capuchins of Paris should go and alone serve the Queen of Great Britain, his sister, in quality of confessors, chaplains, and almoners; that they should wear the habit of Capuchins in the place where they lodged, and in the Queen's chapel, where they should freely perform all the ecclesiastical functions, such as those required in celebrating the august sacrifice of the mass, administer the communion to the people, preach, catechize, baptize, marry, confess, &c.

The Queen of England, who had always honoured the Capuchins with her affection, and who desired them for her service, was highly pleased with this article of peace. The King, her husband, likewise agreed to it, having a high esteem for the Capuchins, whom he had known in Spain. He had heard the Reverend Father Bouerick speak, in a learned and illustrious conference, on the subject of religion: he had even had some familiar conversation with the Father, a man of extraordinary merit, as well for the noble virtues which he practised all his life in our holy Order, as for the books which he composed in an elegant style, and which he gave to the public. He wrote one for the conversion of that prince, to whom he dedicated it. The others were "Demonstrations of the Faith," in two volumes folio; "Annals of the Capuchins," also in two volumes; "Answer to the apostate de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro."¹ The King was therefore well pleased that the Capuchins should serve his wife; and, above all, Pope Urban, who had a brother a Capuchin, expressed particular satisfaction on this occasion, and gave his benediction to the Capuchin missionaries, who should be destined for this noble and profitable office.

This being the case, out of the great number of friars distinguished for virtue and talents, who belong to the province of Paris, and render it illustrious above

¹ For several notices of him, see "Court and Times of James I."

all the other provinces, it was requisite to select such as were fitted for this noble and important employment: after having invoked the Holy Spirit and maturely deliberated, the Reverend Father Leonard of Paris, who had already been twice provincial, was elected Superior of that mission, having been previously appointed Prefect of the general mission of England and Scotland. Eleven other Capuchins were nominated to accompany him, and to live under his superintendance; namely, the venerable Fathers Cherubin, of Amiens; Esme, of Beauvais, preacher and reader in theology, and at that time warden of the convent of Mondidier; Ange, of Soissons, preacher and reader in theology; Lambert, of Fliscour, preacher; Jean Louis, of Avaney, preacher; Joseph, of Paris, preacher; Cyprien, of Gamache, preacher and reader; F. Blaise, of Paris, and F. Sebastien, of Bar sur Seine,—all these for the service of the Queen; and for the chapel of the ambassador, the Marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, were chosen the most venerable Father Basile, of Rheims, preacher, and the most venerable Father Seraphin, of Compiègne, also preacher. After this election, the Capuchins chosen were withdrawn from the convents in which they were dispersed, and collected in the great convent of Paris, to be prepared for their departure. The liberality of the Most Christian King supplied everything that was necessary for their mission, such as new clothes, &c., and he provided also for the expense of their journey.

A grand almoner was needed to succeed Monseigneur, the Bishop of Mandes, who had been sent out of the kingdom, with all the Queen's people, by express command of the King. To this office was appointed Monseigneur Bertaut, Bishop of Bazot, a prelate equally pious and learned, who had recently answered the book of Dumoulin,¹ the celebrated minister, intituled "Le Boucher de la Foy," with which all the Hugonots of France were wonderfully taken, and which they had almost always in their hands. The merits of this worthy prelate were the motive that induced France to appoint

¹ Peter de Moulin. See "Court and Times of James I."

him to this post: I am not sure that they were not also the cause of the refusal of England to receive him, saying that she wanted no bishop in that post, but would assent to its being given to any other priest who had not that quality.

This affair, which was not very speedily settled, prevented our departure for a time. Meanwhile, his Most Christian Majesty sent to England the Marquis de Chateauneuf, as who was very serviceable in cementing the peace that was concluded, and who skilfully managed all the affairs of his commission, one of the most considerable of which was the establishment of a grand almoner, and of the Capuchins about the Queen; because the King, her brother, in order to obtain the dispensation for her marriage, had promised his Holiness to use his endeavours and his authority to keep continually about the Queen, his sister, churchmen commendable for learning and virtue, to assist her in the exercises of religion and in matters of conscience.

As soon as the Marquis de Chateauneuf arrived in England, he treated with the King and the Queen about the coming of the grand almoner, and of the Capuchins. The King at length roused up, and refused a bishop for grand almoner. After this answer, the ambassador quickly sent a gentleman to France, to bring back with him the Capuchins who were destined for the service of her Majesty. His Holiness had already given the prefecture of the missions of England and Scotland to the Reverend Father Leonard, and to the Reverend Father Joseph, of Paris; and there were at the moment in the two kingdoms disguised Capuchins, who laboured in the mission with great edification and profit: in Scotland, the Reverend Father Archange, whose life has been written under the designation of a Scotch Capuchin, and the Reverend Father Epiphane de Lindesay, who had wrought admirable conversions in that country, where he died at the age of eighty-four years: we shall speak of him more at large at the end of these Memoirs. Those who carried on the mission in England were the Reverend Father Anselm, who had been reader of theo-

logy in Germany, the Reverend Father Ange Parnel, and the Reverend Father Richard, all Englishmen by birth.¹

The gentleman who had come from England to take back the Capuchins had the mortification to return without them, by order of the council of the Most Christian King, foreseeing with great wisdom that such an army would make a great noise in England, not only on account of their religion, but also of their way of life, and their dress, the like to which had never been seen in that kingdom since the unhappy change of religion. The most judicious of the council were of opinion that it was expedient to defer sending the Capuchins till after the departure of the Marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, who was appointed to go thither soon as ordinary ambassador. This delay exceedingly vexed M. de Chateauneuf, in the thought that the glory of the establishment in England was here from time to time to be given to the Marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, who was his inferior. This persuasion excited in him great dissatisfaction, and caused him to resort to all the most ingenious devices of his acute understanding. In order to set aside this arrangement, in fact, he exerted himself so effectually at the court of England as to produce a change in everything that was previously determined, and especially in the orders of the King, his master, and he cleverly contrived to keep about the Queen the two Fathers of the Oratory, who were to have gone back to France on our arrival in England.

This intrigue not being known to the council of the Most Christian King, his ordinary ambassador, the Marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, left Calais, and the Capuchins with him, on the 24th of February, 1630; and, as if the demons had foreseen the future prosperity of that mission and had resolved to prevent it, soon after their embarkation, there arose a tremendous storm, which seemed as if it would have buried all in the waves. However, after several difficulties, the wind preventing them from reaching Dover, they landed in the Downs.

¹ Some notices of the Catholic priests in England, at this period, will be found in vol. i., p. 397 and 452.

Thence they proceeded incontinently to London, where the Reverend Father Leonard, accompanied by Father Cyprien of Gamache, was conducted by the ambassador extraordinary to the King and to the Queen, and received with strong demonstrations of affection; and lodgings were assigned them, with all the friars, in a house which the Queen had bought, quite close to her palace of Somerset House, which her truly Christian and royal liberality had furnished with every thing necessary for their condition, adding a garden to it and enclosing it with a strong wall. The intrigue of Monsieur de Chateauneuf, who had gained the ascendancy in the council of the King and Queen of Great Britain, and prevailed also against the orders of the Most Christian King, became known by this time. He caused the two Fathers of the Oratory to remain, though they were to have returned to France, as I have observed, on the arrival of the Capuchins in England.

This affair greatly shocked the Reverend Father Leonard, who was destined to be confessor to the Queen, and caused him to resolve to leave England and to go back to France, and to induce all the friars to return thither. He took their opinions thereupon, that he might not be alone in the enterprize; all agreed in thinking that it would be better to stay, and that, without having the confession of the Queen,¹ the Capuchins might greatly promote the glory of God in the assisting of Catholics and in the conversion of Protestants. Having come to this conclusion, they began to learn the English language, and in a year they qualified themselves to hear confessions.

At that time, they wore cassocks and long sleeves, like the secular priests, and were extremely desirous to have permission to resume their religious habit. The Reverend Father Leonard asked and obtained it of the Queen, and received orders, at the same time, to make all necessary preparations for public service in the

¹ The poor Capuchins, for such unworldly men, appear to have been strangely disconcerted, at finding a queen taken out of their hands by members of a rival order.

chapel and for preaching on the Sunday following, which was the third Sunday in Lent. On this agreeable news, they immediately relinquished their cassocks, resumed their Capuchin dress, appeared next day in the chapel, where they celebrated the sacrifice of the mass, and chanted vespers and complins. The Reverend Father Esmé of Beauvais preached with wonderful satisfaction to her majesty. The lesson was concerning a dumb man, which furnished the preacher with occasion to say to the Queen that if, since the dismissal of the French and the war with France, the preachers were dumb to her majesty's ears, the master of all preachers, the Holy Ghost, had spoken to her heart.

The rumour of this divine service held by the Capuchins spread over the whole city of London, and drew an innumerable multitude of people of both sexes and religions to the Queen's chapel. The Catholics looked with joy upon the Capuchins as men sent by Heaven to show, in the profession of their life, the truth of the faith which they had received from their ancestors, and who had always boldly maintained it, at the expense of their fortunes, their honour, and their blood. They could not turn their eyes from that dress, in which they contemplated the poverty of Jesus Christ, in the humility of the Gospel and the contempt of wealth. They compared this simplicity with the luxury of the ministers, and thanked God for having kept them in that religion of which their fathers were genuine professors.

A gentleman whose obstinacy and false zeal rendered him remarkable among the Puritans or Calvinists, came with some one of his sect to see and to make game of these new Capuchins, clothed in dresses so extraordinary and so strange in this kingdom. He saw them, surveyed them with attention, reflected long upon the modesty of their looks, the gravity of their demeanour, the poverty of their dress, the reverence in their prayers. A ray of light, flashing upon his mind, convinced him that these men were the real professors of religion.¹ He

¹ This conviction must have been of wonderfully rapid growth; but still more extraordinary is the rapidity with which the convert is subsequently disposed of: a

conceived an idea of embracing their faith, and, after mature consideration on the subject, he resolved to become a Catholic, spoke to a priest, opened his heart to him, received the necessary instructions from him; and, having deplored the long years that he had remained with the Puritans in ignorance of the true religion, he made the general confession, received absolution of his sins, fell ill, and, provided with the holy sacrament of extreme unction, he departed this mortal life, to live, as it is reasonable to believe, eternally in heaven. The truth of this history is confirmed by Monseigneur the Bishop of Chalcedon, who officiated at that time as ordinary and superior of the secular priests in England.

As England is full of various sects opposed to one another, and all hostile to the Catholics, the King's council, apprehensive lest the great noise of this happy beginning in the Queen's chapel should excite some disturbance in it, forbade the English Catholics to go thither, and to attend the divine service there, and gave commissions for imprisoning all who should violate this ordinance;¹ in fact, many Catholics only left the chapel, whither their devotion had led them, to enter dismal prisons, to be confined among persons of various classes. A very virtuous young lady, big with child, wife of an officer of the Queen's, was dragged thither with such violence that she was extremely ill in consequence, and was delivered before her time of a dead infant. The zeal of the Queen was kindled by this affair, of which she made grievous complaint to the King, obtained an order for the release of the Catholics from prison, and the confinement there of the persecutors by whom they had been consigned thither with such inhuman violence.

The state of religion was afterwards quiet, and the Catholics enjoyed a sweet and agreeable peace. The pursuivants, who are of the meanest class, and mostly apostates, furnished with commissions for taking the priests and the papists, as they call them, were happily

feature, however, which the reader will find a common result of the Capuchin conversions.

¹ See vol. ii., p. 67 and 68.

taken away: the people began again to come eagerly to the Queen's chapel, to hear mass, the catechism, the disputations, the sermons, vespers, complins, to confess their sins, to receive the adorable sacrament of the eucharist, to be married, and to have their children baptized.

This happy success was increased by the arrival of a grand almoner, sent from France and accepted by England. I have said that the council of his Britannic Majesty had refused the Bishop of Bazot, and would not have a prelate invested with that character. For this reason, France artfully had recourse to compliance for filling that office of grand almoner to the Queen, and sent M. du Peron, a man adorned with all the excellent qualities befitting an illustrious ecclesiastic. He was nephew of the most eminent Cardinal du Peron, and was afterwards his successor in the bishopric of Evreux. He conducted himself in the court of England with such moderation, such suavity, such modesty, that Protestants as well as Catholics entertained only love and respect for him. The bishopric of Angoulême being vacant, he was appointed to it by his Most Christian Majesty. The King of Great Britain, having experience of the mildness of his disposition, and taking pleasure in his conversation, consented that he should continue to hold the office of almoner with the quality of bishop. From the bishopric of Angoulême he went to that of Evreux, upon the nomination of the King of France, and by the bulls of Pope Urban VIII. concurred to place him in a See which his uncle had so worthily occupied.

It is an ancient custom in England, that, soon after Easter, when the weather is fine, the court sets out on progresses, that is to say, the King, the Queen, and all the courtiers, leave London and go into the country to various royal residences in the provinces, staying six weeks at one, two months at another; the whole kingdom thus having the satisfaction to see its sovereign. The Reverend Father Leonard received orders to attend the Queen in these progresses. For this purpose, a carriage was given him by her direction for himself and

his companion, and a cart to carry his little stock of furniture, because that good Father insisted on doing everything or nothing in the Queen's chapel, and thought that, if he adhered firmly to that resolution, the Queen would send back to France the two Fathers of the Oratory. He excused himself, therefore, from attending the Queen, at which she was greatly offended, and complained to the French ambassador, who wrote on the subject to the council of the Most Christian King, made the Fathers of the Province of Paris acquainted with it, particularly the Reverend Father Joseph, who was prefect of the mission, and the Reverend Father Paschal Dabuisse, the then Provincial, who sent word to the Reverend Father Leonard that, the term of the Reverend Father Paschal's provincialate having nearly expired, and he having always acquitted himself so worthily in that post, it was best that he should cross the sea and return to the province, in order to occupy it once more. Accordingly, he went back, and was elected Provincial for the third time, and afterwards definator-general to the chapter which was soon after held at Rome.

This Reverend Father was endued with a wise prudence, a charming suavity, and a great zeal for regularity. As he had received a good part of the Capuchins belonging to the Province of Paris, he had there acquired such great authority, and so much love and deference for his person, that every one complied cheerfully with his orders; wherefore he was universally wished for in the office of Provincial. It was an interposition of Divine Providence which disposed things in England in the manner which we have related, in order to invest him again with that honourable quality in which he attended our general chapter at Rome.

Pope Urban VIII., who had great zeal for the conversion of England, was apprised that this Father had resided there as Superior of the Queen's Capuchins. He expressed a wish to see him, gave him a kind reception, heard him with satisfaction speak of the state of religion in that kingdom, of the moral virtues and kindness of the King and the zeal of the Queen, of the pro-

gress which the Capuchins made under his authority, and of the great benefits that might reasonably be hoped for there. This account was highly pleasing to his Holiness, who gave his benediction to the Reverend Father Leonard, and granted all his requests. To these favours our chapter added the quality of definitor-general of the whole Order of the Capuchins. So this Father left Rome, and returned to France to govern the Province of Paris, where we will leave him, and continue the memoirs of England.

There are three royal residences in London. The principal, the usual place of abode of the King, the Queen, and the whole court, is called Hoithall [Whitehall]; the second is called St. James's [St. James's], an illustrious palace, to which are attached a very fine garden, and an extensive park full of [blank in orig.] and one of the finest Malls that are to be seen. The third bears the name of Somerset House, which belongs particularly to the Queen, and is the finest palace in all England. Of all these houses, the Queen chose St. James's for her lying-in, having with her two Capuchins, while the others remained at Somerset House, who, in the habit of secular priests, met all together on Sundays and festivals to chant vespers and complins, and to preach before her Majesty, who was happily delivered, and gave England a fine prince, then called Prince of Wales, and now Charles the Second, King of Great Britain. As soon as he was in the world, the King, his father, sent a gentleman to tell the Capuchins not to trouble themselves about the baptism of his son, as he would attend to it himself, and satisfy the Most Christian King, his brother, on that point. He acted in this manner for the purpose of eluding one of the most important articles of his marriage, namely, that the children born of it should be brought up and instructed in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion till the age of fourteen or fifteen years, and that they should afterwards choose the religion in which they should desire to live and die. France, which was then rent with intestine war and factions, did not make all the

resistance that could be wished to the infraction of an article, the observance of which was so necessary to the welfare of the King and of all England.¹

To fill the place of the Reverend Father Leonard in England, there was sent the Reverend Father Jean Marie de Tresson, who from Knight of Malta had turned Capuchin on the following occasion. His brother, who was his elder and his only brother, was learning to dance, and led the daughter of the master who instructed him. She was fair, handsome, good-tempered, agreeable in conversation, and so charmed this young gentleman that, notwithstanding her low condition, he married her. His father, who had a noble and proud heart, could not submit to this disgrace: to keep up the glory of his family, he sent for his Chevalier, made him return from Malta, obtained from Rome a dispensation from his vows, with power to marry, and told him that he would leave him sole heir to all his possessions on his marrying a woman of condition. The Chevalier most humbly thanked his father, and begged for time to think about the matter; the upshot was that he could not find a woman who pleased him, and with whom he should like better to ally himself than with the religion of the Capuchins.²

The Reverend Father Jean Marie de Tresson brought with him Brother Marin, of Paris, a friar full of fervour, in place of F. Blaise, who had returned to France with the Reverend Father Leonard. Both were heartily welcome to the Queen, who had long meditated the building of a church for the exercises of religion and for the benefit of the other Catholics. Divine service had previously been performed in a spacious room, fitted up in form of a chapel; the zeal and address of her Majesty having obtained the consent of the King her husband, she immediately gave directions for laying the foundation of this sacred edifice immediately adjoining to Somerset House.

¹ Why the young prince being christened according to the Catholic ritual was "so necessary to the welfare of the King and all England," the good Father has not ventured to state.

² Surely his researches amongst the sex must have been very limited.

On the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which was the 14th of September, when Heraclius, loading upon his imperial shoulders that sacred wood, bore it to Mount Calvary, whence the fury of the Persians had carried it away, the piety of the Queen planted the cross upon the mount of Somerset House, the first place from which heresy hurled it at the time when the religion was changed in this unhappy kingdom. A plot of ground, on which the chapel was to stand, was very tastefully fitted up in form of a church; rich tapestry served for walls; the most costly stuffs for roof; the floor was strewn with flowers, which diffused an agreeable odour. At the further end was seen an altar, garnished with magnificent ornaments, with large chandeliers of silver gilt, and with a great number of vases, the costliness and workmanship of which rendered them worthy of being compared with those of Solomon's Temple. The Queen knelt upon a cushion of crimson velvet under her dais, attended by the Marquis Fontenay Mareuil, ambassador of the King of France, and by a great number of other Catholic gentlemen and ladies. M. du Peron, her grand almoner, performed high mass with solemnity, and granted some indulgences, while harmonious music ravished the heart. The concourse of people was so great, that it seemed as if all the inhabitants of London had concerted to attend this noble ceremony. Mass being finished, her Majesty was conducted by the ambassador to the place where she was to lay the first stone, which she touched with her royal hand; and then, laying hold of a trowel, the handle of which was covered with fine fringed velvet, respectfully presented to her by the intendant of her buildings, and taking mortar from a large glittering basin of silver gilt, and with a grace which imparted devotion to the people, she threw it at three times upon the stone, in which was enchased a large silver plate with this inscription:—

Henrica Maria, Henrici III. Gallorum Regis filia,
 Caroli I. Magnæ Britanniæ Regis conjux, Ludovici XIII.
 in Gallia regnantis, et Philippi III. Hispaniarum Regis

Soror, Templum hoc singulare pietatis monumentum ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam sicut Religionis Catholicæ exercitium, R.R. P.P. Capucinatorum provinciæ Parisiensis (quos in suum peculiare obsequium vocare dignata est) ad usum est Catholicorum commodum sub felicibus Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ auspiciis evexit, et primum ejus lapidem Jacobi Peronii magni sui Eleemosinarii benedictione consecratum, sua manu Regia posuit, die 24 Septembris, anno 1636.

If the devotion of the Queen appeared great and received much praise as well from Protestants as from Catholics in this ceremony, her liberality was not less conspicuous. Though the workmen who began this edifice were few in number, and their experience of the bounty of her Majesty caused them to hope for large gifts, her magnificence nevertheless surpassed all their expectations; for, in presents and in money, they received to the amount of six thousand francs, with which they were so satisfied that they gave a thousand blessings to the Queen and made the air ring with shouts of joy, crying and repeating a thousand times, "Long live the Queen!—long live the Queen!"

The rumour of this ceremony gave greater *éclat* to the name of the Capuchins, and spread it throughout every part of the vast and populous city of London. People talked of them in their houses; they said that they were persons so strange, wearing dresses so extraordinary, leading so austere a life, that every one conceived a desire to see them. Accordingly, persons of quality, ministers, people of all conditions, who had never been out of the kingdom, came to see them, as one goes to see Indians, Malays, Savages, and men from the extremities of the earth.

England is an abundant country, and *has no taxes*; the inhabitants lead a luxurious life, far removed from the poverty of other places, for which reason austerities touch them deeply. To edify them, and to render them the more disposed to a holy conversion, the Capuchins, whom they came in crowds to see, resolved by common consent to add something striking to their austerities.

Their beds are usually composed of a pailleasse and a hard pillow of straw, and a blanket. They took away the pailleasses and the pillows, leaving nothing but the bare boards to lie upon, using a wooden desk, instead of pillow.¹ This little self-denial was admired by the English whom curiosity had brought into their chambers. With this disposition they talked to them of the suffering life of Jesus Christ, whom it was right to imitate, of the great St. Paul, who, all confirmed in grace, chastened his body; of the importance of living and dying in the true religion in which such things are practised. England, formerly full of monasteries and of holy friars, who led that sort of life before the reign of Queen Elizabeth and of King Henry VIII., who made the schism in the Church, thus disposing them, exhibiting to them our mysteries, and grace operating in them, a great number, of all sorts of conditions, forsook heresy and embraced the orthodox faith; but the highest and the lowest conversions were not till after the completion of the church which her Majesty had built. For, all things being quieter, we acted with more freedom, and nevertheless with great moderation, taking care that nothing should appear and occasion a noise. The English language had become more familiar to us, and easier; one converted person brought several others, who were either related to him, or friends of his.

On Sundays and festivals, our confessionals were surrounded by a crowd of penitents. At every mass there was a great number of communicants. We carried the sacraments to the Catholics in prison, and to the sick in various places in and out of the city of London, so commonly that this happened almost every day, and in such number that in one forenoon a single Capuchin carried the sacraments sometimes to eight sick persons, in quarters and places far distant from one another.

The building of the chapel royal being finished, in 1636, in order to give more glory to God, and greater

¹ The simplicity with which these little Capuchin arts are narrated provokes a smile.

esteem for the Catholic religion to the Huguenots, the Queen resolved that the first mass should be held there with all possible pomp and magnificence. To this end she gave orders to the Capuchins to omit nothing that they could devise to render this solemnity august. An eminent sculptor, named François Dieussart, had lately come from Rome for the Count Lacoudelle. They applied to him, and begged him to assist them in this pious design. He complied with a very good grace, and made a machine, which was admired even by the most ingenious persons, to exhibit the Holy Sacrament, and to give it a more majestic appearance.

It represented in oval a Paradise of glory, about forty feet in height. To accommodate it to the hearing in the chapel, a great arch was supported by two pillars towards the high altar, at the distance of about eight Roman palms from the two side walls of the chapel. The spaces between the pillars and the walls served for passages to go from the sacristy to the altar. The choir of music was placed with the organ and the other instruments, on either side over those vacant spaces. The pillars being planted and the arch erected, the opening was found to be twenty-six Roman palms in width, and thirty-seven in height. Over each side appeared a Prophet, with a text from his prophecy. Beneath the arch was placed outside the portable altar, ten palms in height. The ascent to it was by six steps, disposed in three orders; the largest, which was in front with the balustres, left an unobstructed view of the altar to the persons present, and the others, on the sides, in theatrical form, were also surrounded with balustres, in order that the priests, wearing their ornaments, might easily reach the altar without being pressed by the crowd of people. Behind the altar was seen a Paraclete,¹ raised above seven ranges of clouds, in which were figures of archangels, of cherubim, of seraphim, to the number of two hundred, some adoring the Holy Sacrament,² others singing and playing on all sorts of musical instruments, the whole painted and placed ac-

¹ A dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost.

² The Host.

ording to the rules of perspective. The Holy Sacrament formed the point of view, with hidden lights, but which kept increasing, so that the distance appeared very great, and the number of figures double what they were, deceiving, by an ingenious artifice, not only the eye but also the ear, all conceiving that, instead of the music, they heard the melody of the angels, singing and playing upon musical instruments.

The first circle, in the form of an oval, was twenty-seven palms in height and eighteen or twenty wide, and so the other circles, decreasing in proportion to the last, which was only six and ten palms in height and width. The first circle contained Angels larger than life, sitting on clouds, singing and playing on instruments: in the fourth and fifth there were Angels in the habit of deacons, some with censers, others with incense-boxes, some kneeling in the attitude of supplicants, others prostrate, pointing at the Holy Sacrament to their companions, all of them of a size proportioned to the distance. In the sixth and seventh circles were seen children with wings in various postures, like so many little Angels issuing from the clouds, playing together with gestures full of respect, some turned towards the centre, others showing the adorable Sacrament to the people, inviting them to rejoice and to adore it with them. In the eighth and ninth circles appeared cherubim and seraphim among the clouds, surrounded with luminous rays, with extraordinary skill. The place where the Holy Sacrament lay had a bottom of gold, and as for the lamp to the cloth covering the pyx, it was a red oval with rays, the whole of which was so well contrived and appropriate, and with such splendour, that the painting seeming to vanish, there was left nothing but the brilliancy of the lights, which caused that place to appear all on fire. The number of the lights was about four hundred, besides the great multitude of tapers ingeniously arranged upon the altar, which lighted the first circles.¹ All these things, being thus disposed, were covered with two curtains.

¹ Extremely ingenious and imposing: but surely such machinery was much better suited to a theatre than to a religious temple.

It was the 10th of December, in the year 1636, that the Queen came with all her court to hear mass. As soon as she had taken the place prepared for her, the curtains being drawn back, all at once gave to view those wonders which excited admiration, joy, and adoration in her Majesty and in all the Catholics. At the same time, the music, composed of excellent voices, set up an anthem, the harmony of which having no outlet but between the clouds and the figures of Angels, it seemed as if the whole Paradise was full of music, and as if the Angels were themselves the musicians; those who sung being in fact concealed and not seen by anybody; thus eye and ear found at the same time gratification in this contrivance of piety and skill.

The anthem being finished, the acolytes, sub-deacons, and deacons, and Monseigneur du Peron, then Bishop of Angoulême, and grand almoner of the Queen, in the pontifical habits, came forth from the sacristy, and ascended to the altar by eight steps, and celebrated with the greatest solemnity the holy mass, which was sung in eight parts so melodiously that one must have had a heart of stone not to be moved by it. Tears of joy seemed to trickle from the eyes of the Queen, considering, in this pious and striking ceremony, the grace which God bestowed on her to erect a church where would thenceforth be celebrated all the divine services which heresy had banished from England. It was about one hundred years since mass had been pontifically celebrated; a multitude of Catholics thronged to receive the Holy Communion from the hand of the bishop, who gave his benediction and indulgences to those present.

After dinner, her Majesty again went to attend vespers, complins, and the sermon. The musicians, having perceived the satisfaction which the charming melody of their singing afforded the Queen, were animated to such a degree that they far surpassed what they had done in the morning. After vespers, Monseigneur du Peron ascended the pulpit, and delivered a very learned, very eloquent, and very pathetic sermon on this text of the Psalms: "This is the Lord's doing, and it is mar-

vellous in our eyes." He dwelt with wonderful force upon the grace which God vouchsafed to the Queen to have a Catholic Church, with liberty to have the whole divine service performed there, after it had been abolished and forbidden for so many years in all England, Ireland, and Scotland. The sermon being finished with the satisfaction of the Queen, with the applause of the whole audience, which was very large, her Majesty retired. Those who were in the chapel had great difficulty to leave it on account of the crowd of people who were bent on forcing their way in to see the magnificence displayed there. The crush lasted so long that it was impossible to close the doors of the church till the third night, when the King gave orders that it should be cleared of strangers, for he was desirous to be himself a spectator of that magnificent representation. Accordingly, he went thither, attended by his grand marshal, the comptroller of his household, and some other gentlemen. He admired the composition, kept his eyes fixed upon it for a very long time, and said aloud, that he had never seen anything more beautiful or more ingeniously designed.

To satisfy the devotion of the Catholics and the curiosity of the Protestants, who never ceased coming in crowds from all parts to behold this wonder, the report of which had spread in all quarters, from the 8th of December, the day consecrated to the immaculate conception of the most Blessed Virgin, the Queen, with great prudence, ordered the chapel to be left with all its decorations till Christmas.

This religious and brilliant ceremony was followed by exercises of piety, which her Majesty's Capuchins continued ever afterwards in her chapel. From six o'clock in the morning there were successively masses, and in general communions, till noon. Not a day passed without bringing some penitents to the confessionals. On Sundays and festivals, the throng was so great that one could not get in without great difficulty. Persons were obliged to wait two or three hours before they could enter a confessional. On those days,

a controversial lecture was held from one o'clock till two, immediately before vespers, which the Capuchins and the musicians, placed in two galleries opposite to each other, sang alternately. When vespers were finished, the preacher mounted the pulpit, and preached for the space of an hour or three quarters on the gospel of the day, touching occasionally upon certain controversial points, to confirm the Catholics in their faith, and to draw Huguenots thither. Compline was then sung. Then followed various conferences, some of piety with Catholics, others of religion with the Sectaries, who came eagerly to be instructed in our creed, and to have their doubts resolved.

The Christian doctrine was publicly taught in French and English on three different days in each week. Every Thursday there were expounded in French for the French all the symbols of the faith, the commandments of God and of the Church, the Sacrament, the Lord's Prayer, the way to confess and communicate properly, and to pass the day in a Christian manner: and for the English the same things were taught in their language every Wednesday and Saturday. The Capuchin employed in this holy duty first catechised all the children, who were very numerous, and then held a short discourse, expatiating upon the great gratitude which they owed to God for all the benefits which they had received from him, and particularly for their vocation to the Catholic religion, as it was really true that there was no salvation for those who are separated from it, and die in that unhappy separation. This touched the Protestants who attended those lectures. Conceiving this proposition to be false, they wished to inform themselves more solidly and more at leisure of the reasons and grounds in private conferences, in which they were convinced of this truth, afterwards renounced their errors, and desired to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, which their forefathers had criminally forsaken.

The Queen had obtained from the most Reverend Father General of the Jacobins the establishment of the

confraternity of the Holy Rosary in her chapel, with that of the third order of our seraphic Father St. Francis; the Father Superior of the Capuchins, destined for the service of the chapel, was director of the two confraternities. The Queen, who had always regarded the most Blessed Virgin as her good mistress and her dear mother, and who had always had great reverence for the seraphic Father Francis, applied very humbly to be inscribed and incorporated in both confraternities. The Catholics of her court, gentlemen and ladies, small and great, and innumerable people with them, followed her in this devotion. Every Saturday in the year, the litanies of the Blessed Virgin and other reverential services were sung with great solemnity in that chapel dedicated to the glory of that celestial lady, who was held in such great veneration by the Catholics, French and English. The brothers and sisters of the confraternity of the Rosary met, confessed, and communicated regularly on the first Sunday in every month. The brothers and sisters of the third order did the same every second Sunday. On these days were held celebrated processions, which were attended out of curiosity by many sectaries, some of whom, touched by them, sought conferences and were converted.

Monsieur the Marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, a very prudent and very virtuous gentleman, who had conducted us to England, having finished his embassy, had orders to return to France. The Reverend Father Basile, of Reims, and the most Venerable Father Seraphin, of Compiègne, who had served him as preachers, almoners, confessors, and chaplains, during his embassy, accompanied him on his return. He had for his successor in this illustrious post the Marquis de Poigny, a gentleman of high probity, who desired to have two Capuchins of the Province of Paris, like his predecessor. The advanced age of Father Basile of Reims required rather retirement and rest than the laborious duties of missionary. This idea led our Superiors to resolve to leave him in France with his companion, and to give M. de Poigny two other Capuchins. These were the Reverend

Father Vincent, and Father Charles, both of Beauvais, and both endowed with estimable qualities. The most Venerable Father Charles has shown his zeal and prudence in the office of guardian, confessor, and director of nuns, at Senlis. As for the Reverend Father Vincent, God had ennobled him with a penetrating mind, and a great facility of speaking learnedly about everything, on all sorts of subjects, and with ability to express his ideas with peculiar clearness. These valuable talents caused him to be in great request in England, won for him mightily the affection of the ambassador, who availed himself of his counsel and loved him dearly. He saw with pleasure his chapel always full of Catholics and Protestants, drawn thither by the excellent sermons of that Father; but he rejoiced much more at the secret conferences which he had with the principal ministers, particular friends of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who wished with him to bring the Protestant religion so near to the Roman Church, that a union should ensue almost imperceptibly.¹

The devil, fearful of this important result, which would tend to the ruin of his power, excited an unfortunate persecution against the Reverend Father Vincent, which caused him to be recalled to France with his companion. The ambassador was so deeply affected at this, that the violence of his grief put an end to his life and consigned him to the tomb. The Reverend Father Joseph, prefect of the mission, learned too late how much that good Father promoted the prosperity of the Catholic Church in England, and repented of having given his assent to his recall. On his return to France, he was elected chief warden of the Province of Paris for the general Chapter, and afterwards first definator and warden of the great convent of Paris, where he died a holy death.

Before him the Reverend Father Esmé, of Beauvais, had returned to France by order of our Superiors, who

¹ This archbishop was Laud: he was the leader of the "Puseyites" of the seventeenth century, and an intrigue was on foot at Rome, at this period, to procure him a Cardinal's hat, for his eminent services in advancing the Romish religion in England.

sent for him to take the office of warden of the convent of Amiens. He had preached four or five successive Lents before the Queen, to her extraordinary satisfaction, for which reason she wished to keep him for her chapel; however, after several efforts and importunities, she permitted him to return to France. From the very first sermon that she heard from his lips—it was, as I have already remarked, on our arrival in London, the third Sunday in Lent—she talked of it to the King, with warm commendations, and ever continued to entertain that high esteem for his insinuating suavity and persuasive eloquence. I never saw a man stronger in reasons and less envious of petty advantages, even in things which are commonly connected with devotion; such as rosaries of rare wood, handsome medals, crucifixes of superior workmanship, fine and well bound breviaries. Obedience kept him for a long time at the convent of Soissons. He taught our young friars philosophy and theology, and afterwards held the office of warden, in which he ended this miserable life, to commence, as we trust, a happy one which shall have no end. His virtues rendered him, agreeably to his name, beloved of every one, especially of the gentlemen of the town of Soissons, and, above all, of Madame d'Elbœuf, abbess of the royal monastery of Notre Dame. Having known the great prudence and strength of his mind, she made him superintendent of her affairs, and followed his counsels. On this account she manifested great grief for his death, and formed the design of erecting a tomb to perpetuate the memory of so worthy a friar. This intention, which, for reasons, was not carried into effect, showed the great piety and the constant affection of that princess.

The successor of the Reverend Father Esmé in the mission of England was the most Venerable Father François Marie Boduel, a friar of a superior understanding, of angelic purity, of ardent zeal, and most exemplary character. Now that he is dead, I can say this to his honour, for I knew him intimately in quality of his confessor, during the course of several years.

After his return to France with the other Capuchins, whom an order from the Parliament obliged to leave the kingdom, the knowledge of his virtues induced our Reverend Fathers to give him first the office of Master of the novices at Paris, in our convent of St. Jacques, and afterwards that of warden at the same place. He was thence sent to the convent of Troyes, for which he had a more particular affection, because he had been, as it were, regenerated there by the exercises of his noviciate and by his religious profession, and there renewed his first fervours, gave himself up entirely to prayer and to attendance on the sick, who were very numerous in the convent. He there found what he sought, namely, the grace to end, by death, his regular life where he began it. His attentions, his fatigues, his watchings with the sick, brought upon him a violent fever, which reduced him to extremity. He begged pardon of all his brethren, both absent and present, received all the last sacraments with great devotion, and expired; pronouncing this word of Jesus, "Mary," whom he had always greatly loved.

The most Venerable Father Jean Louys, of Arancy, having passed six or seven years in the service of the Queen's chapel, and in the exercises of the mission, received from our Superiors an obedience to return to the Province of Paris. As he was of noble birth, of a generous heart, and of great zeal, for the defence and the advancement of the Catholic religion, he thought, in his youth, that he could not succeed better than by making himself a Knight of Malta. Accordingly, he was received into that Order, and employed in expeditions against the Turks, in which he signalized his courage and valour. This success did not puff up his heart, but kindled there a desire to raise himself to still higher perfection. He turned his thoughts to all the conditions, on all the professions, on all the religious orders, in which he might be most certain to acquire it. He considered all of them with attention; and, at last, after long meditation on this subject, the religion of the Capuchins seemed to him most apostolic, and best suited to his

purpose. He resolved, therefore, to embrace it, and to change his cuirass for a hair shirt, his helmet for a cowl, his baldrick for a thick cord, and his sword for a breviary; in short, he resolved in his mind to pass, if he could, from the Order of Malta into that of the Capuchins. He besought this favour, addressed earnest solicitations to our Superiors, and, following up the business with ardour, he obtained his desire, to his great satisfaction.¹

In the year of his noviciate, and in that which followed profession, there were remarked in him a fervent soul and a spirit so mortified that he usually added further austerities to those prescribed in our Order. His fervour, together with his other excellent qualities, induced our Superiors to put him to the study of philosophy and theology, in which he succeeded well. He received the sacred character of priest, and was chosen for the mission in England, in which he made wonderful progress. Knowing from experience that it was necessary to speak the language of the country, in order to converse with the Protestants, and to draw them gently to the true faith, to serve the English Catholics in the confessionals, in catechising, in preaching, he applied himself to the study of that language with such assiduity, that he outstripped all the other missionaries, and was the first who heard the confessions of the English. Frequently he had not leisure to take his meals, so much was he occupied with confessions, with attending the sick, and with conferences with heretics, the number of whom converted was very great. *The devil, enraged at this progress, raised up for him a wicked sorceress, whom he had infinite trouble to withdraw from the slavery of Satan; and, to gain her for God, he employed fasting, discipline, prayer, exorcisms, and inexpressible labours, which seemed to have obtained from Heaven the conversion of this wretched creature; but, after several renuncements of the devil, after many protestations to live as a true Christian, she always relapsed into her*

¹ This is the second instance related by Père Cyprien of a Knight of Malta having turned Capuchin.

diabolical engagement. I know not how this ended;¹ but I know that Father Jean Louys, after his return to France, greatly advanced the glory of God there, by his fervent preaching, by his catechising, by the confessions of the penitents whom he converted, by all the functions of missionary, which he performed in various places for several years; lastly, by his mortified and religious example, which excited to virtue those who considered with attention the greatness of his zeal and the holiness of his actions.

The most Venerable Father Victor, of Paris, was sent in his place; and, after him, the most Venerable Father de Vautelet, by the special favour of their Britannic Majesties, under the following circumstances:—M. de Vautelet, equerry to the Queen, and his wife, *dame des atours*, earnestly besought her to prevail upon the King, her husband, to permit Father Robert de Vautelet, Capuchin Preacher, their brother, to go from France to England, and to be added to the ten Capuchins, who, by an agreement between the two Crowns, were employed in the service of the chapel of the Queen. Without having power to increase the number, the King granted the request, and this Father came to be incorporated in the family of her Majesty's Capuchins.

He was a friar of great sanctity, and extremely laborious, who had long performed mission duties, and the office of warden in France. He slept very little, was endowed with so excellent a memory as to forget nothing of what he read, and preached extempore with the greatest facility on all occasions and on all kinds of subjects. After his banishment from England, with the rest of the Queen's Capuchins, having learned that the Holy Congregation de Fide Propaganda was applying to our Reverend Father Provincial for some Capuchins to undertake the mission duties at Neocesarea, he offered himself, with great fervour of mind, for that employment, which was given to him. He embarked, there-

¹ Father Cyrien has just said that the Sorceress "always relapsed:" consequently, the struggle must have ended to the disadvantage of Father Jean.

fore, with some other Capuchins, as their Superior. After several great difficulties and some terrible dangers, he arrived at Neocesarea, where he spared neither pains, nor labour, nor address, to advance the glory of God; but, meeting with powerful obstacles, which thwarted his pious designs and rendered all his efforts useless, he was obliged to go to Constantinople. The ambassador of the King of France, who resides in that capital city of *Greece*, received and kept him for some time in his house. Such were the pleasure, instruction, and consolation which he found in his company, that he could not suffer him to depart. The extraordinary memory and extensive reading of that Father furnished ever new subjects of conversation. They were, nevertheless, obliged to separate: the Reverend Father Prefect of the missions having given him the office of Superior in our convent at Smyrna. He went thither, and acquitted himself worthily of that duty. No sooner was Monseigneur the Bishop of Celica acquainted with his merits, than he honoured him with the appointment of his grand vicar, at which some Friars of another Order, who aspired to that dignity, manifested great discontent. He persevered, however, and acquitted himself of it to the satisfaction of every one, and particularly of him who had conferred on him that office. He laboured powerfully for the conversion of the schismatic Greeks, at confessions and Christian instructions, and in preaching. At length, God, to reward his merits, sent a disease, which removed him from the earth to place him in heaven, as we have every reason to believe, from the innocence of his life and the holiness of his actions.

Previously to the coming of the Capuchins to England, schism had infused an extraordinary aversion to the Pope and the Catholics into the minds of the Protestants. They held, as an article of faith, that the Pope was Antichrist and the Catholics idolaters, infidels, blood-thirsty, seditious, enemies of peace and of kings. In fact, all those men, collected from all parts of the kingdom, who composed the Parliament, having enacted against them those terrible statutes which I shall pre-

sently enumerate, how could the simplicity of the most reserved fail to be taken by surprise? how was it possible to entertain any good feeling for a religion prohibited as highly dishonourable to God and most pernicious to the State, condemned by three or four hundred persons assembled, by lords, by prelates, by doctors, by men of all professions, by the whole *élite* of England, publishing horrible ordinances against those who professed and practised that religion?

I have collected some of these ordinances, which will show you the pitiable state of the Catholics who lived at that time in England, Scotland, and Ireland. They are from a grave and trustworthy author, who extracted them from the Acts of divers English Parliaments, and, to make them known to all Europe, inserted them in a book printed at Treves in the year 1583, and intituled “*Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia, adversus Calvinos, Papistas, et Puritanos.*”

These iniquitous ordinances are of two sorts: some end in the privation of temporal goods, the confiscation of lands, pecuniary fines, the loss of revenues, imprisonment, and banishment; and others, much more severe, require blood and death, condemn priests to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, their quarters to be exposed upon iron spikes on London Bridge; by a horrible confusion, causing them to pass for egregious traitors, for the most atrocious malefactors, though not accused, much less convicted, of robbery or murder, of any attempt against the King or the State, or of any other crime, but merely of being a priest; so unjust and detestable are those laws, the first of which, relative to pecuniary punishment, is as follows:

1. Whosoever shall refuse to attend the preaching and prayers of the minister in the Protestant church, and shall pass a month without paying that attendance, shall be obliged to pay twenty pounds sterling—(a pound sterling is equivalent to 13 or 14 francs of our money)—Whoever is unable to pay that sum, shall abide in prison till such time as he has paid that fine.

2. Whosoever shall be convicted of having heard

mass, though privately, shall be imprisoned for one whole year, and shall not be released from prison till he has paid two hundred and eleven crowns; and the priest who has said mass shall be imprisoned for the same time, and pay four hundred and twenty crowns for each several time that the evidence of witnesses shall attest his having performed that ceremony.

3. Every ecclesiastic who will not publicly renounce the Romish Church, and the authority of the Pope, shall be deprived of all benefice and ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever.

4. Scholars and masters shall not be received into the Colleges of the Universities, nor admitted to degrees, till they have first sworn that the Pope has no authority in the affairs of the Church.

5. No person shall act as a magistrate, or hold any office, till he has publicly made the same renunciation of the Pope and of the Romish Church.

6. Wards, having attained the competent age, cannot be put into possession of their property, till they have taken this oath.

7. The same oath must be taken by the members of the lower House of Parliament; otherwise, their votes shall not be received.

8. All persons beneath the dignity of Baron, refusing at two different times to make this renunciation of the Pope and the Romish Church, shall be deprived of their goods, possessions, revenues, and be imprisoned during the term of their natural lives.

9. All those who shall deny that the Queen is the supreme head of the Church of England shall be liable to the same punishment.

10. All who shall receive or keep medals, crosses of gold or silver, crucifixes, and such like things blessed by the Pope of Rome, shall also suffer the loss of all their goods and imprisonment for life.

11. Whosoever shall keep in his house, for the instruction of his children, a teacher, who shall not attend the Protestant church, and who shall not be approved by a Protestant bishop, shall pay every month a fine of

thirty-three crowns, and continue this payment till he has dismissed such teacher from his house.

12. All the property, moveable and immoveable, houses, lands, and revenues, of one who shall know that some person has reconciled another to the Church of Rome, and shall not, for the space of twenty days, have declared it to the magistrate, shall be confiscated. As for his life, that shall be disposed of according to the good pleasure of the Queen.

13. Whosoever shall know two persons, one of whom has reconciled the other to the Church of Rome, though he himself does not belong to it, if he does not inform against both before the public magistrate, shall suffer the like penalty.

14. In like manner, he who shall have reconciled another, and in any way aided such reconciliation, though not himself reconciled, shall be liable to the same penalty.

15. Whosoever shall know that any one has advised obedience to be paid to the Pope of Rome in ecclesiastical causes, and not have denounced him to the magistrate, shall forfeit all his goods, as above.

16. Whosoever has suffered another to talk to him about obeying the Pope of Rome in ecclesiastical matters, and not given information against that person, shall be punished by imprisonment and loss of goods.

17. Whosoever knows that a priest has given absolution to any person, and does not make it known to the magistrate, shall suffer the like punishment.

18. Whosoever knows any priest that has power to absolve, though he does not exercise it, if he does not give information against him, is liable to the same penalty.

19. Whosoever knows some one who says that he has power to absolve, though he really has not, and does not inform the magistrate, shall be punished with imprisonment, and the forfeiture of all his goods.

20. Whosoever knows that some one has absolved another, whether the absolution was solicited or not, and does not denounce both parties, shall incur all the penalties above mentioned.

21. Whosoever knows some one who has dissuaded from the religion now public in England, that is to say, the Protestant, and endeavoured to draw away some other person to the Romish religion, and to obedience to the Pope, if, in the space of twenty days, he fails to inform the magistrate, his goods shall be forfeited, and he shall be imprisoned for life.

Such were the most unjust, accursed, detestable, pecuniary laws: yet there were others which far exceed them in cruelty, which make innocence pass for the crime of lese-majesty, that is to say, for the greatest of all crimes, which breathe nought but murder, blood, fire, and carnage, with the infamous calumny of treason, to throw odium upon the Catholics put to death in this manner, and to rob them, in the estimation of the people, of the glory which belongs to them—that of martyrs losing their lives in defence of the true faith. The first of these laws is the following:

1. Whosoever shall have said, written, affirmed, or signified, in any manner, by ciphers, or, being required, shall have confessed that the Pope of Rome is head of the Church of England, or, that he has power in ecclesiastical matters, such person shall be guilty of the crime of high treason, and suffer the punishment ordained for traitors to the State.

2. Whosoever shall have made any appeal to the Pope, and obtained from him any bulls, or the like, and brought them to England, shall undergo the punishment due to the crime of high treason.

3. Whosoever shall bring to England agnus deis, beads, medals, and such like things, blest by the Pope of Rome, shall be held guilty of the crime of high treason.

4. Whosoever shall have said, written, signified, or confessed, that the Queen of England is heretic or schismatic, shall suffer the same punishment.

5. Whosoever shall have reconciled any one to the communion of the Romish Church shall be liable to the like punishment.

6. Whosoever shall have refused three different times to renounce the Pope of Rome and to avow the supreme

authority of the Queen in ecclesiastical matters, shall be guilty of the same crime of high treason.

7. Whosoever shall have been voluntarily reconciled to the communion of the Romish Church shall suffer the same penalty; which is likewise awarded in all the following cases, viz. :—

8. Whosoever shall have procured the reconciliation of another to the communion of the Romish Church;

9. Whosoever shall have advised some one to be reconciled, though without having managed that reconciliation;

10. Whosoever shall have persuaded another to obey the Pope of Rome in ecclesiastical matters;

11. Whosoever shall have allowed himself to be persuaded to that obedience;

12. Whosoever shall have procured or instigated the persuading of any one to this obedience;

13. Whosoever shall have promised to obey the Pope of Rome in ecclesiastical matters at some future time;

14. If any priest absolves one of the Queen's subjects;

15. Whosoever shall have the power to absolve in England, though he never exercises that power;

16. Whosoever says that he has that power, though, in fact, he has not;

17. Whosoever has received that absolution, whether he has applied for it or not;

18. Whosoever shall have procured absolution for another;

19. Whosoever shall have advised another to get absolved, though he has not procured that absolution;

20. Whosoever shall have advised absolving in general, without having decided any particular person to that absolution;

21. Whosoever shall have dissuaded from the Protestant religion, wilfully preventing another from embracing it, to draw him to the communion of the Romish Church and to obedience to the Pope of Rome:

This last, and all the others convicted on the above-mentioned charges, shall be guilty of the crime of high treason, and as such condemned and taken to prison, from the prison dragged on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there hung by the executioner to the

gallows; and, when it shall be admitted that they are strangled, he shall cut the cord that held them suspended, he shall lay them upon the ground near a great fire, strip them stark naked, cut off their privities, which he shall throw into the flames, rip open the belly, tear out the bowels, separate from them the heart while still palpitating, which he shall hold up to the people, crying with a loud voice, "This is the heart of a traitor!" cut the body into four pieces, which he shall boil and stick on the top of iron pikes, which shall be set up in various public places, as a mark of their perfidy and in horror of their treason.¹

Are not these executions barbarous, horrible, and frightful, and for innocent crimes, for holy actions, for noble practices, which, in the sight of God, are deserving of eternal rewards!

Can the most detestable crimes of which enraged malice is capable be prohibited with more laws, in more different ways, with more subtilty, more address, more captious circumstances, to catch the most moderate, and are there punishments more atrocious! This it is that renders the memory of Queen Elizabeth infamous, execrable,² all these new ordinances having been made at her instigation and under her authority; but, on the contrary, it is what gives wonderful lustre to the piety and zeal of Queen Henrietta Maria of Bourbon, who undertook to bring over a nuncio from the Pope to England, notwithstanding that horrible aversion to the Pope and to the Romish Church.³

The conversations of the Protestants with the Capuchins contributed greatly to promote that holy and generous undertaking. Having heard talk of their way of life and their dress, they were brought by curiosity to the Fathers. They spoke to them, conversed with them, were tamed by degrees, inquired concerning their

¹ These barbarous penalties are unfortunately derived from the dreadful code of punishments for religious offences first instituted by the Romish Church, and practised in various countries, either through the agency of the Inquisition or other ecclesiastical court, and indicate the impression left on the public mind by the burnings and torturings that disgraced the reign of Queen Mary.

² And renders still more infamous and execrable the memory of her immediate predecessor—her example in religious persecution.

³ For an account of Henrietta Maria's proceedings with the Pontiff, the reader is referred to Dr. Lingard, chap. 5, vol. ix.

faith, which they found totally different from what it had been represented to them. From the ministers they learned with astonishment that the Catholics were far from the sentiments which were attributed to them respecting the person of the Pope, not believing that he was a God, or some such divinity, to whom adoration is paid, but a mortal man, and in his own person a sinner, like other men, although vicegerent of Christ, successor of St. Peter, head and pastor of the universal Church; that such was the faith of the true believers, who were in like manner taught to adore no other sovereign than God alone, to flee from rebellion and sedition, to pray for their princes, to obey them in every thing that is not contrary to God; to endure with patience persecution, banishment, imprisonment, loss of property, and death itself, for the maintenance and the defence of their faith.

These genuine persuasions, impressed upon the minds of several who visited the Capuchins, insinuated themselves among those of the court and the palace, even to the King. The piety of the Queen availed itself of this favourable occasion to solicit the King's permission to have publicly in England a nuncio of the Pope. She had shortly before sent to Rome the Chevalier Chavilton¹ and the Chevalier Digby as her agents to Urban VIII., who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and who manifested great kindness for all the English, Catholics and Protestants, but who had a particular affection for the Queen, whom he honoured as his dearest daughter with presents, among others, of a very rich shrine, containing the relics of St. Martin. Her Majesty, being at Paris, gave it to the Carmelites of the Rue St. Jacques. In this favourable disposition, the Queen, assisted by grace, obtained what she desired with such ardour; to the great delight and astonishment of all the Catholics, she had the King's consent that nuncios on the part of his Holiness should come over to her. The first was Monsieur de Pansany [Panzani],² canon of St. Peter's,

¹ Sir William Hamilton, brother of Lord Abercorn.

² Dr. Lingard says the first was Leander, an English Benedictine monk, and the second, Panzani, an Italian priest.—*History of England*, vol. ix, p. 314.

at Rome; the Pope made him a bishop on his return; the second, Monsieur Carne, a native of Scotland, who was created cardinal on his return to Rome, where he died on his arrival; the third, Monsieur Rosetty, who saw the commencement of the troubles of the regicide Parliament, from whom he suffered many vexations, which his Holiness compensated with a cardinal's hat. He is highly esteemed at Rome at the moment that I am writing these memoirs.

These nuncios had successively their chapels open to all the Catholics, to the great discontent of the Puritans, who, filled with animosity and fury against the Pope, were enraged to see these ecclesiastical prelates sent from Rome so well received by the King, with permission to profess publicly what they called Popery. From morning till noon, masses were continually said in their chapels; the Catholics attended them: there were no pursuivants to hinder any persons, or to oppose their devotion. The nuncios paid their court to the King and to the Queen. They were known to every body. Their carriages rolled along the streets of London, without any one daring to say a word against them; and the sectaries, undeceived, began to believe and regard as a real prince, a legitimate lord, and an amiable sovereign, him whom the envenomed calumny of the clergy had before caused to be reputed a wicked usurper, a bloodthirsty tyrant, an enemy of God, a detestable anti-Christ. Zeal for religion having rendered the Queen so estimable to all the Catholics, particularly in the court of Rome, it is no wonder that those whom she sent thither were so well received. Here is one instance among others.

A bad lying-in had placed her Majesty in evident danger of death. As she had always been brought up in very great devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and was singularly attached to her, she had recourse to her powerful intercession. With great humility and fervour, she prayed, in this extreme necessity, for her assistance, and she received immediately an extraordinary ease, which was followed by a very happy delivery and perfect health. In gratitude for so great a benefit, she

made a very rich, very valuable, and very magnificent present to the chapel of Our Lady of Loretto, and appointed the Reverend Father Jean Marie de Treston, then Superior of the Capuchins of her chapel, to be the bearer of it. Honoured with this royal commission, he went to Rome, where he had no sooner arrived than the Pope and the cardinals desired to see him. He received such welcome, such testimonies of affection, such caresses, such honours, that his humility must have sunk under them, if it had not been very solid.

At this time, all was quiet in England. There were no persecutions against the Catholics; all the King's subjects lived in universal peace, through the wise conduct and counsels of the Earl of Portland,¹ high treasurer and president of his Majesty's council. He had private correspondence with the Reverend Father Joseph of Paris, a Capuchin, whom Cardinal Richelieu kept about him out of respect. This nobleman favoured the Queen's Capuchins, but underhand, clandestinely, and in secret; to prevent its being known that he had an inclination to Popery, as they term it.

This intercourse with the Reverend Father Joseph, and this secret affection which he entertained for the Capuchins, were followed by a success highly conducive to his salvation. For, some time afterwards, a grievous illness obliging him to relinquish earthly affairs, and to think only of those of heaven, grace opened his eyes, to see the newness, the instability, the falsity of the Protestant sect, and the continual antiquity, the invariable firmness, the infallible truth, of the Catholic Church, in which his ancestors had lived holily and died happily. In these pious sentiments, he applied for a priest, renounced heresy, embraced the orthodox faith, was honoured with a visit by the King, to whom he delivered the stick of the office of high treasurer, with these few words: "Sire, with respect and gratitude I return this stick into the hands of your Majesty, lamenting exceedingly that I have been less faithful to God than

¹ As he was created Earl of Portland in 1633, and died the following year, we are enabled to mark the date of this tranquil period.

to your service.”—“No, no,” said the King; “the stick cannot be better than in your hands; there I wish it to remain.”—Whereupon the treasurer replied, “Sire, I am no longer capable of holding it, for two reasons: the first, because I do not expect to recover from this illness; the second, which will appear hateful, but which I neither can nor ought to conceal from your Majesty, is, that, by the grace of God, I am now a Catholic.”—“Only get better,” rejoined the King; “the Catholic religion shall not prevent your retaining this stick.” His Majesty returned deeply affected at the dangerous illness of so good a minister, who took, instead of the baton of treasurer, the baton of the cross. And, kissing that, having received the sacrament and extreme unction, he departed this life with the marks of a predestined soul.

His successor, as first minister of State, was the Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ who, under the authority of the King, undertook to effect a uniformity of the Protestant religion throughout Great Britain, which comprises England and Scotland, resolved to introduce the ceremonies into the Church, and ordered the clergy to wear the surplice in the performance of their duty. To back this prelate, several ministers began to preach publicly quite the contrary of what had before been believed—such as the following truths: that the Pope is not Anti-Christ; that ceremonies are necessary in the Church; that auricular confession is obligatory on every one who has sinned; that in the Christian religion there must be altars. Not content with proclaiming these truths from the pulpit, they composed divers books, which were printed, published, and distributed in all quarters, I leave you to conceive with what consolation to the Catholics; while the Puritans, that is to say, the Calvinists, were inflamed with wrath, fury, and rage. *Peccator videbit et irascetur; dentibus suis fremet et tabescet.* At that time we were much visited by Protestant ministers, who conversed very familiarly with us; willingly listened to the reasons of our belief, in-

¹ Laud.

quired concerning our ceremonies, came to the Queen's chapel to learn the practice of them, admitted that the Catholic was the true Church, but, withheld by the consideration of their benefices and of their wives, imagined that they could be saved in the Protestant Church, having, they said, the same fundamental points as the Church of Rome.¹

An English Countess, who had always been brought up in the Protestant religion, living very near our house, desirous to know what sort of people we were, came frequently to see us. By degrees, she took a liking to our conversation, and conceived a totally different opinion of our faith from that with which ministers had filled her mind; was assailed by various doubts touching the Protestant religion; became finally persuaded that the Catholic religion had *always subsisted*;² that her ancestors had lived and died in it; that, ever since the first preaching of the gospel, all the saints who reign gloriously in heaven had been Catholics; that, before the schism of King Henry VIII., England, united to the Roman Church, had peopled Paradise with great numbers of saints.³ These truths, accompanied by other solid reasons, excited in that lady a profound respect for the Catholic religion, and urged her to embrace its faith: but, in a matter so difficult and so important, though endowed with an excellent understanding, nevertheless, diffident of herself, she inquired if we would agree to a conference in English, upon her business, with two English divines, chaplains to the King. We answered that the proposal was very disadvantageous to us, because the English language was foreign to us and natural to those ministers; yet, for the sake of her conversion and the salvation of her soul, we would joyfully

¹ This movement of a certain portion of the Established Church to assimilate its ceremonies as closely as possible to those of the Catholics is almost identical with that of the Puseyites.

² The good lady might have been *persuaded*, but, if she possessed any historical knowledge, she could not have been *convinced* of this.

³ The object of the Reformation was to return to that pure faith in which the Saints had died, and from which the Church of Rome had, in each succeeding century, more and more departed, till it had degenerated into a confused jumble of idolatrous ceremonies and superstitious legends, the greater portion of which were as much at variance with common sense as with genuine Christianity.

accept it, provided that the whole should be kept secret, so as not to give offence either to the King or to the State. She gave us a solemn promise to this effect. With this assurance, Father Cyprien of Gamache, who spoke English, went to her house with Father François Marie Baduel, who merely served for companion, not understanding the English language. They found in the house of this lady two of the most eminent English divines. After several civilities, they entered into disputation on the reality of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament and on the communion, in one kind only. God gave such a blessing to the disputation that the lady left the Protestant Church, and made a generous profession of the Catholic faith, in which she still continues to this day to manifest great zeal and fervour.¹

Prince William of Nassau, son of the Prince of Orange, having come to England to seek Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of King Charles I. in marriage, Dr. Vane, almoner, otherwise chaplain, to his Majesty, one of the ablest and most eminent of his divines, was appointed to preach before that young prince in a large apartment in Somerset House. The Queen's chapel was very near to it. Father Cyprien of Gamache was then preaching there, and saw the minister familiarly, manifested great friendship for him, conversed with him mildly on the diversity of religions, one of which only was the true one; proved, by strong reasons, that this true religion was that of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish Church. The minister admitted that one might certainly be saved in it, but that salvation was not excluded from the Protestant Church, which agreed with the Romish in all those fundamental points. He was told in reply that the sacraments are fundamental points, and particularly the Lord's Supper, in which the two religions are opposed: and, since it was admitted that certain points were fundamental and not others, all that

¹ We should have been better satisfied of the truth of this statement, had Father Cyprien given the names of the lady and the "most eminent English Divines;" but the good Father continually perplexes us with a deficiency of memory in respect to names and dates.

God has revealed and that is proposed by the Holy Church belongs alike to the faith, and must be alike believed by true believers. These reasons, and several others, threw the minister into great agitation; but worldly interests, the revenues of several benefices, which he must have lost on embracing the Catholic religion, induced him to continue in the Protestant.

A few months afterwards he fell so sick that he expected to die. All the conferences which had passed on the subject of religion then recurred to his mind. He made serious reflections upon them; weighed with great care the reasons adduced in favour of the Church of Rome; and, finally, being convinced that it was the only true one, he sent at night to beg Father Cyprien to come to see him. On his arrival, "Father," said he, "our conferences, with the grace of God, have enlightened my mind. I doubt no longer that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church is the true one. I am resolved to live and die in it. I believe all that it believes, and reject and condemn all that it condemns. I will make, if you please, the profession to you." After some instructions on so important a subject, he confessed with a strong feeling of grief, received absolution of his heresy and of his other sins; and the following night, according to his desire, the Holy Communion and extreme unction were administered to him.

Instead of dying in these holy dispositions, as it was wished, being so well prepared, he recovered his health, preached in his parish with the permission of his confessor, a thoroughly Catholic sermon, which deprived him of all his temporal goods, and banished him from England. His wife and his children, after several refusals, followed him in his conversion and banishment. They live with him in Paris, where he wrote an English book, intituled "The Stray Sheep Returned to the Fold," which has made a great number of Catholics in England. In order to subsist, theology being thenceforth useless to him, he applied with ardour to the study of medicine, took his doctor's degree, and, when he had begun to support himself by that profession, God pur-

posing, as we may believe, to bestow upon him a happier life, sent a fever which consigned him to the grave, after receiving all the sacraments of the Church, exhibiting many acts of contrition, rendering devout thanks to the Divine Majesty for having called him to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. He left a disconsolate wife and several children, of whom Providence took such care that they are all well provided for: some in honourable offices in certain religious orders; others are employed in the court of England; and his wife is married again to a gentleman of piety and condition, to whom she shows equal respect and love, and by whom she is reciprocally so fondly loved, that their union may serve for a perfect model to married people.

Two other young ministers, who were not yet married, came frequently to walk in our garden. They usually addressed themselves to me, expressed pleasure with our conversations, which were frequently upon religion. After several very civil disputes, several altercations, several objections and replies, at length, grace operating within them, both acknowledged that the Roman was the true Church, in which salvation was to be sought; and that, the Church being but one, the Protestant opposed to the Roman could be but a sect in reality, and a Church in appearance, from which salvation was shut out for all those who lived and died in its profession. These two ministers, therefore, renounced it, forsook its creed, embraced the faith of the Romish Church, and made a solemn profession of it, went to France, and, after some studies and long exercises of piety, received holy orders, were both priests, celebrated the holy mass for the space of seven or eight years, laboured charitably for the conversion of souls, gained for the Church several of their countrymen who were in Paris, and then disease removed them both, one after the other, from this miserable life, to put them in possession of one infinitely happier in heaven, as we may reasonably judge.

A young Catholic lady was earnestly desirous of the

conversion of a Protestant friend of hers. Her zeal sought all means, and found none more efficacious than to take her to the Capuchins, recollecting that several had been converted in that way. Her address contrived to excite in her friend a strong desire to see the Fathers, saying that they were extraordinary men, who dressed in a strange fashion, that they lived wholly upon alms, though several of them had been rich, without reserving any thing for themselves; they had given all they had possessed to the poor, that they might be poor with Jesus Christ, who never had either home or income. The Protestant lady, admiring all this, requested the speaker to obtain for her a sight of these extraordinary people. They came, therefore, together to see me. In conversation, I learned from the lips of the Protestant that she was the daughter of a Puritan father and a Catholic mother, who had suffered much for her religion, who had lived and died in it, notwithstanding the ill usage and persecution which had attended her through life. I praised this constancy, and said that it was a great blessing to be the daughter of so virtuous a mother, whose good example of religion and piety she ought to follow. I added that it was one of the most important affairs in the world, since it regarded our eternal salvation; that the Catholic religion was the only true one; that we must live and die in it to be saved; that there was no salvation for those who were separated from it, and who died in that awful separation. I supported all these propositions by proofs and by reasons adapted to her capacity. She yielded after some resistance; strong grace caused her to resolve to renounce her father's sect, to live and die in that religion in which her dear mother had displayed so firm and so holy a perseverance, and in which she had so happily ended her days.

She afterwards related to me a remarkable circumstance, which had left in her heart some good feeling for the Catholic religion. When she was a little girl, her mother had left her at home, while she went secretly to the house of a Catholic gentleman to hear mass there.

The Puritans, sworn enemies of the Catholic religion, knew of it, and resolved to go thither in force, to break open the door of the place in which mass was said, to secure the priest, with all the ornaments of the Church, and all persons whom they should find there. A good friend acquainted the little girl with this malignant design, and desired her to run off as fast as she could to tell her mother that there was a great conspiracy against the house where she was, and that she must come away immediately and return home. The child obeyed, but, meeting by the way with a young play-fellow, she loitered a long time. The conspiracy was meanwhile carried into execution. After the consecration, when those who attended the august sacrifice of the mass were about to communicate, the furious satellites arrived, broke open the door with violence, entered the house, searched every where, found the secret oratory in which mass was said, seized the priest and the persons present, carried them off prisoners, took missal, crucifix, cup, a small pyx, in which were kept the consecrated wafers, the cope, stole, in short, every thing which, as they said, smelt of Popery, and threw all into a large fire kindled in the great place of the city. *A great number of people collected there saw with astonishment the pyx, containing the concentrated wafers, open with a loud noise amidst the flames, and the host soar away into the air, without returning to the earth, or being ever seen afterwards.*¹ The young lady whose conversion I am relating was present at this miraculous sight, which left in her heart favourable impressions of the Catholic religion, in which happily she died.

Scotland, England, and Ireland, are three distinct kingdoms, governed by one and the same sovereign, commonly called King of Great Britain. The various religions are so mixed in these three kingdoms, that each professes a particular one, which there predominates over the others, and is more generally practised.

¹ After perusing this sentence, we are afraid the reader's confidence in Père Cyprien will be very much disturbed.

In Ireland it is the Catholic, in England the Protestant, and in Scotland the Puritan or Calvinist, which boasts of following the pure Scripture alone, and is therefore extremely hostile to the Catholics.

A young Scotch gentleman, having finished his studies at Edinburgh, the capital of the kingdom, was desirous to see England, particularly London, which he had often heard spoken of as one of the largest, wealthiest, and most commercial cities in Europe; and he wished his eyes to be faithful witnesses of the marvels which his ears had heard. Accordingly, he prepared for the journey and set out, arrived safely in London, visited his friend, a Scotch Catholic, who had settled there to serve God with less hindrance and in greater tranquillity than in Scotland. This friend, very zealous in behalf of his religion, was extremely glad of his coming, in the hope of gaining him for Jesus Christ. He talked to him about the most remarkable things which he would see in the city, and among others, about certain extraordinary men called Capuchins, who had come some time ago from France to serve the Queen in a magnificent chapel, which she had lately had built. The young gentleman immediately conceived a desire to see that chapel and those Capuchins. He came thither with his friend, who knew me, who honoured me with his affection, and desired that I should be called. The young Scotchman was greatly surprised to see so strange a dress. At first he was as if thunderstruck. After some civilities, he wished to know what was our faith, our way of life, our exercises, what worship we paid to God, wherefore those altars, wherefore those images, wherefore those confessionals, wherefore we made the observance of those things such an essential point. I gave him the reasons, which he would not entertain at first, being prepossessed with contrary opinions.

In the sequel, after much reflection on the subject, he called upon me several times to obtain further elucidations of the matters which he had propounded to me. At length, finding that what I answered him was according to the rules of the Gospel, from a powerful

movement of grace, he renounced the heresy in which he had lived, made profession of the Catholic religion, found our Capuchin life so conformable to that of the Apostles that he resolved to embrace it, went for that purpose to France, called upon our Reverend Father Provincial, manifested so strong a desire, besought and urged him with such earnestness, that he admitted him and named him Brother Julian of Scotland. In his noviciate he was all fervour, which greatly increased at his profession. He was then sent to Soissons, where he fell ill, suffered violent pains with great submission to the will of Heaven, expressed the most humble thanks and gratitude to God for his vocation to the Catholic religion and to the religious life of the Capuchins, begged pardon of his brethren for any bad example that he might have set them, and, provided with all the sacraments, displaying several acts of contrition and love of God, he passed from this miserable life to a better, after living three years in our Order with great edification.

An English gentleman of the Protestant religion, who held honourable offices, and was a member of the King's Council in Ireland, had business which happily obliged him to come to London; and, as Divine Providence takes particular care of the elect, and has admirable expedients for leading them into the way of heaven, when heresy or the disorders of any other sins cause them to stray from it, it happened that I was summoned on account of some works of charity to a Catholic house where this gentleman was, whom I did not know, and had never heard of. Having finished the business on which I had come, I was told that he had recently arrived from Ireland, that he led a moral life, though in the Protestant sect, that he had a docile disposition, and that, without much controversy, dispute, and altercation, he would acquiesce in the truth, and embrace the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, if strong reasons should convince him that it was the only true one. This gave me occasion to join the company in which he was, to converse civilly with him upon indifferent matters, to talk of the state of Ireland, of the

manners of the Irish, of their customs and their way of life; lastly, of their Catholic religion, to which they had always inviolably adhered, as they had received it from their ancestors, in spite of imprisonment, exile, loss of goods, and other calamities, which had served only to display their generous constancy, to augment their merit, and to render it praiseworthy in time and in eternity. This gentleman was at first somewhat surprised at hearing me advance these things, and speak with such freedom: but his surprise ceased when he knew that I was one of the Queen's Priests; and he agreed with me that there is nothing we ought not to do and to suffer for the defence of the true religion, in which alone one can be saved. I then proved to him by solid reasons that there is not and cannot now be any true religion but the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman.

After much discourse on this subject, many objections, many questions, many answers, he at length acquiesced and yielded to the truth; whereat greatly rejoicing, after pointing out to him the great obligation which he owed to God for that important grace, I gave him some instructions concerning our mysteries, on the obligation to lead a Christian life, and the means of doing so; and on the manner of duly confessing and communicating. Being thus disposed, he received absolution of his heresy, confessed, took the sacrament with extraordinary fervour, returned to Ireland, practised secretly all the exercises of his religion, at the same time attending the King's Council as usual, retaining his offices, which he would have lost, and done a great wrong to his family if he had declared himself a Catholic. Two years passed in this manner, when business again called him to London, where he fell ill. He apprized me of his condition. I visited him. His disorder increasing, he made a second general confession to me, received the sacrament and extreme unction, gave a thousand thanks to God for his vocation to the Catholic religion, deplored the years spent in the belief of the Protestants; and, after various acts of faith, hope, and

charity, he passed happily from this mortal life on earth to the immortal in Paradise.

His funeral was accompanied with some remarkable circumstances. You must know that in London there are but two Catholic cemeteries belonging to the two churches of the Queens, wherein are interred none but their officers and servants, of both sexes, who die in the faith of the Church of Rome. The other Catholics are buried by the ministers in the cemeteries of the Protestants, after the priests who attend them at their death have blessed some mould, put it into the coffin with the body, said prayers, and performed secretly all the other usual ceremonies of the Church. The gentleman whom I am speaking of had a great desire to be buried in the cemetery of the Queen's Chapel. He begged of me to solicit this favour of her Majesty, who cheerfully assented. To prevent the notice which this action might excite, the body was conveyed at night in a carriage; we received it into our church, and did all that the Romish ritual prescribes for the burial of the dead. All this was to be kept quite secret; otherwise, the ministers would have made a great noise, the people would have been strongly excited, and great complaints, very prejudicial to the English Catholics, and especially to the family of the deceased gentleman, would have been made to the King.

To prevent this mischief, his relations and friends resolved to have a coffin, to put into it stones and other things of the weight of a body, to make the ministers believe that the remains of their relation were enclosed in it. So this coffin was carried solemnly to the Protestant church, in a hearse, with pomp and magnificence, *with flags and the sound of trumpets*. All that is done at the most expensive funerals was observed at this;—several ministers, a large assembly, a great number of gentlemen and other persons of quality, a funeral discourse in praise of the deceased, by one of the most eminent preachers, who apostrophized the stones under the idea that he was addressing the body of the deceased.

The multitude of converted Huguenots was so great, that the number of the Catholics who came to the Queen's chapel was such, that they never entered or left it but in a crowd. While some were within, attending the august sacrifice, the others were waiting at the door. There was a continual ebb and flood of people from six in the morning till twelve at noon; and the King, looking at them from a window of the Queen's palace, and by his silence approving of their devotion, seemed to condemn the unjust laws of the Parliament against the Catholics, who are in fact the most faithful and the best subjects of Kings, from the principles of their creed, which oblige them to pray for them, for their family, and for their State.

Not a week passed but there were two or three conversions of Huguenots, who renounced heresy, and embraced the orthodox faith. The exercises of the Catholic religion, to which I have adverted, flourished with such success, both in and out of the Queen's chapel, that zealous persons could not behold them without transports of joy.

Mary of Medicis, Queen of France, who at that time came over from Flanders to England, where she resided nearly four years, expressed to the Queen, her daughter, her extraordinary satisfaction at the mild treatment enjoyed by the Catholics, and the great progress of their holy religion in the kingdom where it had formerly been so persecuted. The gentlemen and ladies of her suite, having heard talk of the great afflictions which the Catholics had formerly suffered in England, were likewise astonished, and had the same sentiments as the Queen, their mistress; but, above all, her confessor and preacher in ordinary, the Reverend Father Suffren, of the company of Jesus, a man of extraordinary merit, whose signal piety and the fervour of whose sermons had gained him such wonderful reputation in the great city of Paris as to make him pass for a saint, and for the most famous, the most devout, the most popular preacher of his time,—this great man blessed Heaven a thousand times on finding in England those fervent exer-

cises of the Capuchins, and that notable advancement of religion which he would not before have ventured to imagine. These circumstances afforded him great consolation, which was changed into grief, on learning the iniquitous ordinances of the new Parliament, which obliged the Capuchins to live as prisoners, and to keep their chapel closed. This woful intelligence being brought when Father Cyprien, of Gamache, was with him, "Father," said he, weeping, "*bene currebatis; quis vos impedit?*" which are words of St. Paul.

There were seen at this time three melancholy things at once: Queen Mary de Medicis forced to leave England, and to seek refuge at Cologne; Monsieur Rosetty, nuncio of the Pope, expelled from the kingdom, after incurring imminent danger of his life from the fury of the people; the Capuchins prisoners, out of hatred to the Catholic religion and the Queen, for whose service they had come. They wrote on the subject to the King of France and to Cardinal Richelieu: copies of their letters are subjoined.

Letter of the Capuchins of the Queen of England to the King of France. Written in their Prison.

Sire,—We throw ourselves at your Majesty's feet, to implore in all humility the aid which piety and justice induce us to hope for. In the absence of the Queen, your dear sister, and our good mistress, the Parliament of London has pronounced a decree, which violates the articles of her marriage, which insults the glory of God and the honour of your Majesty. We will write more at length upon it to his Éminence Monseigneur the Cardinal Duke de Richelieu, beseeching his usual zeal for the interests of God and for yours, to represent to your Majesty the strange injustice of this edict, the shameful treatment of crowned heads, and the sufferings to which we are reduced. Whereupon we await the commands of your Majesty, for whom we offer our prayers to God in quality of, Sire,

Your most humble, most faithful, and most obedient Servants and Subjects, the Capuchins of the Queen of England.

Letter of the Capuchins of the Queen of England to Monseigneur the Cardinal Duke de Richelieu. Written after their chapel was shut up and themselves imprisoned by the unjust decree of the Parliament of London.

Monseigneur,—We make bold to write to the King as our Sovereign, and to your Eminence as the singular Protector of the interests of God and of his Majesty, to represent in all humility how much both are injured by the violence which we are at present suffering. We pretend not to add to the information given you by Monseigneur the ambassador, but merely to acquit ourselves of the duty which we owe to God, to the King, and to your Eminence. To this end, we have judged it proper to send you a true relation of all that has passed up to this time, that your excellent understanding may make its usual reflections, and form, according to its custom, a solid judgment thereon.

Your Eminence is aware that the Queen, on leaving this place, would not take with her more than two Capuchins to serve her during the journey, and commanded all the others, for the benefit of the Catholics, to remain in London, and to perform their usual functions in her chapel: being at Dover, on her way to Holland, she did us the honour to reiterate this order, and to recommend us to Monseigneur, the ambassador of France, that we might have his protection in any case of need which might arise during her absence. Notwithstanding this, here is our chapel shut up, and we prisoners, by an unjust edict, which breaks the articles of the peace between the two crowns, violates the respect due to the King who sent us, is a manifest outrage against their Britannic Majesties, and a pernicious example of rebellion of subjects against their lawful sovereign. The penetrating mind of your Excellency will discover more mischief in this infamous sentence than we are capable of representing to you, Monseigneur,

Your most humble, most obedient, and most faithful
 Servants, the French Capuchins, Missionaries in
 the Service of the Queen of England.

The government of the Kingdom of England is at once monarchical and aristocratic. The King is sovereign in such a way that he cannot impose any tax upon his subjects, nor draw any money from them without the consent of the assembled States, or what they call the Parliament. It is composed of two chambers, an upper and a lower. In the upper are the lords, the archbishops, the bishops, the dukes, the marquises, the earls, the viscounts, the barons. The lower chamber contains the baronets, the knights, the mere gentlemen, the burgesses chosen by the towns of the kingdom. The sovereignty of the King consists in convoking this assembly when he pleases, and in dissolving it when it will not comply with his pleasure. His domains being most ample for defraying the expense of his household and supporting the dignity of the Crown, he has no need of the Parliament, unless when he is obliged to provide for some extraordinary expense, as for carrying on war, building ships.

In the reign of Charles I., the religion practised, and the only one permitted, in England was the Protestant, which admits of bishops, altars, and ceremonies. The Puritans, who reject these and stop, as they say, at the pure Scripture, have so prevailed, and have so strangely multiplied, that they exceed the Protestants in number. The Archbishop of Canterbury being the first minister of State, resolved to destroy or to reduce them to the Protestant religion. For this purpose, he obtained from the King an ordinance requiring all ministers to wear surplices in the churches, and to observe there certain ceremonies which were not previously practised. The Scotch, obstinate Puritans, and animated by those of England, refused to obey, preached up rebellion, raised the people, and maltreated the partisans of the King, persecuted the bishops of their nation, sought their lives, which were safe only in flight or concealment, formed a powerful league against the King their sovereign, ruined those who refused to enter into it; in short, they set the whole kingdom of Scotland in commotion and rebellion. Force was required. The King, who

had no guards, which his predecessors had constantly kept, gave commissions to several captains to raise soldiers and to levy a strong army. It was soon ready, marched, arrived at the field of battle. Strange success! many Puritan officers, and soldiers of whom it was unfortunately composed, said that they would not fight against their brethren, thus making a mock of the archbishop and of the King. What was this prince, thus affronted, to do? He was told that he must have a Parliament. He convened one. The Puritans were in a majority, and bent on ruining him. They promised traitorously to give him all the money that he asked for, and to make him one of the greatest monarchs in the world, if he would engage not to dissolve the Parliament. The King, misled by abominable counsellors, complied with the demand, and at the same time stripped himself of his authority, which consists particularly in this point—to convene and dissolve the Parliament when he pleases.

No sooner had this assembly obtained the word and promise of indissoluble continuance, than it caused this to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that it might be publicly known. It possessed itself of the forces of the kingdom, and appointed a captain of the faction to command in the Tower of London, which is in that city what the Bastile is in Paris; and began to make ordinances prejudicial to the Crown, through the criminal practices of five or six persons of that wretched assembly. The King, accompanied by one hundred gentlemen, went to the Parliament to seize them. They had warning of his coming, and withdrew before he arrived. Not having found them, he contented himself with causing seals to be put in their houses on the doors of the cabinets, in which were the papers of their cursed correspondence and of their abominable faction; but these men, animated by the spirit of the devil, acted in such a manner that, by their persuasion, the Parliament ordered, with horrible outrage, that the King's seals should be broken, to the great contempt of his Majesty. Accordingly, the King's seals were broken, the doors of

the cabinets were opened, and the papers of the seditious members were removed. To them may be applied what St. John says:—*Superbia eorum qui te oderunt ascendit semper.* The detestable Parliament made the seditious come back, not as criminals and culprits, but in triumph, with the beating of drums, the flourish of trumpets, and the firing of cannon. The King, unable to endure this infamous confusion, left London, which he never entered afterwards.

Queen Mary de Medicis had previously retired, to go to Cologne; the Queen of England, her most dear daughter, was obliged also not only to quit that rebellious city, but to separate herself from the sweet and amiable conversation of the King, her husband and her lord, to cross the stormy sea, to sail to Holland, to take over the Princess Mary, her eldest daughter, the future consort of William of Nassau, only son of the Prince of Orange, and to find through this marriage more easily and more abundantly supplies of money, arms, and soldiers, to resist the detestable Parliament, which had possessed itself of all the forces of the Kingdom, and which had on foot a powerful army against its lawful sovereign. She took with her two Capuchins only, to serve her spiritually in this voyage, which she expected to be short, and left all the others at Somerset House, after recommending them to the ambassador of the King of France, her brother.

There happened at this time a lamentable accident, which threw us all into great consternation, and caused us to augur the calamities which followed. The ordinances of the Parliament obliging us to keep our chapel closed, and forbidding us to celebrate the august sacrifice of the mass, we said it in a little oratory of the house, that amidst so many misfortunes we might not be deprived of so great and salutary a benefit: there we kept the most holy eucharist, for the supply of the sick, for our lay brethren, and for some Catholics in particular, who came to us in secret. One day, on going to take up the pyx, to administer the communion to some one, the priest found nothing in the tabernacle.

He began to tremble, turn pale, and weep. He left the altar, and related this lamentable news, which was like a thunderbolt to us, and caused us to think that God was forsaking this place; recollecting how he had abandoned the hapless city of Jerusalem, after the voice of an angel had been heard crying in the temple, "Let us go hence!" In spite of all the pains that were taken to ascertain what had become of this pyx and of the wafers which it contained, all our search proved useless; we never could learn anything about them, except that the sequel brought forth those disasters which this melancholy accident had caused us to dread.

As the King and Queen were passionately attached to each other, they could not part without extreme regret and grief. After many kisses, many tears, which conjugal love drew from the afflicted eyes of the Queen, the anchors were weighed and the ships stood out to sea. So she parted from the King, who never ceased looking at her standing upon deck, till the great distance withdrew her from sight. Then, taking off his hat, he waved it round several times, bidding her a very affectionate, but very sad and painful adieu. It seemed as if Heaven designed to portend to the Queen the lamentable circumstances which followed. A furious tempest suddenly arose, contrary winds began to roar, and drove, tossed, and battered the ships with the utmost violence, as if they were bent on sinking them all: some actually perished, and with them many valuable things and men. But, at length, God, who reserved this generous princess for other trials, enabled her to reach Holland safe and sound, but very weak and very dejected. She was received with great joy and magnificence; and then commenced rich and splendid preparations for the marriage of Madame her daughter with Prince William. Nothing was omitted that could contribute to the magnificence of this great solemnity, which seemed to ease all pains and to lighten all past sorrows. The mind of the Queen, however, was still suffering anxiety about the state of the King; and, in spite of all the diligence she used, to go and rejoin him soon, she was obliged,

contrary to her intention, to stay a long time in Holland.

One of the principal objects of her voyage was to take back to the King military stores and forces to resist the violent proceedings of the Parliament. She laboured assiduously at this business, which being completed, she embarked to return to England. The weather was mild, the air serene, the wind favourable, but lasted so not long. Presently the wind shifted, and continued so contrary that the fleet, after being tossed about to its great peril by a horrible tempest, was forced to put back to the port from which it had sailed. It was obliged by necessity to stay in Holland, and to wait for weather more propitious for navigation, on the first appearance of which, the Queen and all her people embarked a second time, and again found themselves in the greatest danger from contrary winds and furious tempests, which threatened every moment to bury all the ships in the deep. Sailors who had made several voyages to India had never found themselves in such extremity. All cried for mercy; the Catholics confessed, to prepare themselves for death; enmities were changed into affectionate reconciliations; those who previously hated one another embraced, and all begged forgiveness of each other. Several ships foundered, among others that which had on board her Majesty's chapel, in which there was a fine piece of the true cross, and the goods and clothes of the gentlemen and ladies. The ships which carried the horses were all lost, with the carriages, the grooms, and other servants.

In this great disaster, the Queen, as devout as she was generous, had recourse to Heaven, and implored the aid of the Blessed Virgin, whom she had always loved, and whose favourable assistance she had received on several occasions. She made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to the church of Our Lady of Liesse, to found in it certain masses in perpetuity, and to give it a silver ship. *After this vow, the wind lulled, the tempest ceased, the sea became calm, the Queen arrived safe in port, and repaired very soon afterwards to the*

King, who received her with inexpressible joy and satisfaction.

The Capuchins who had remained in London during the voyage of the Queen, their most dear mistress, whose return they were continually expecting, could not receive the very agreeable tidings of her arrival without transports of consolation. All went to the altar, to render their most humble thanks to God for it. All offered to him for this purpose the adorable sacrifice of the mass; all, with great joy and fervour, sang the *Te Deum*; and then conceived great hopes of seeing their church again open to all the Catholics, and the holy religion flourish once more.

But, alas! deplorable circumstances ran counter to these pious thoughts. The gentlemen of the Parliament, enraged at the return of the Queen, resolved to carry things to the last extremity. They dreaded the subtilty and address of that wise princess, could not bear the faith put by the King in her prudent counsels, were filled with animosity against her person, and with furious hatred of the religion which she professed. They knew that she had brought from Holland large sums of money, all sorts of arms and munitions of war, and that a great number of brave officers and generous soldiers had accompanied her and entered into her service. They recollected that the outrages offered to their King, their legitimate sovereign, were so atrocious, that they could not expect any pardon from his clemency, though it was extraordinary. They gave orders, therefore, that the Queen's Capuchins, whom they had doomed to imprisonment, should be removed from Somerset House, their usual abode, and taken into the city, there to be detained prisoners, till fresh orders. As soon as this resolution was pronounced, the Puritans, triumphing with joy, collected a furious band of officers, soldiers, and other most malignant and determined persons that they could meet with, to come, they said, to the ruin of the Papists, to the ruin and banishment of the Capuchins, to the seizure of their provisions and their goods, to the plunder of all their houses. All this

being concluded on, unknown to the Capuchins, they were much astonished to see all at once their house invested, their doors broken open with violence, their rooms full of armed men, their provisions carried off, their furniture, for which they were indebted to the liberality of the King of France, plundered, and themselves seized by officers without pity.

France was then in the most profound peace with England. The Capuchins lived in London by common consent of the two Crowns: they lived in great retirement, wholly engaged in the duties of their profession. They were not accused of any misdemeanour: nobody had any complaint to make against them. If the Parliament had agreed that they should leave England, and had signified to them this resolution, though unjust and violent, without reason, and contrary to the agreement and alliance of the two Crowns, the Capuchins would nevertheless have obeyed it, and would have gone: but, without speaking to them about any arrest, without giving them any notice, without saying a single word to them, to send armed men against them, to break open their doors, to use all sorts of violence, to treat them as the greatest criminals in the world, to seize their persons, to pillage their house, to enter their church insolently, to commit all sorts of impiety in it, to break in pieces the confessionals, to demolish the altars, and—what my pen cannot record without trembling—to vent their rage upon Jesus Christ himself, in the mystery that demands of us most love and reverence, to renew his painful passion, to scourge a crucifix, and then break it in pieces, pierce another with halberts; in short, practise cruelties which the greatest barbarians would hold in abhorrence!

It was on Thursday in Passion week that the Parliament committed these strange violences and these horrible outrages. Monsieur the Duke d'Epéron, having unfortunately fallen into disgrace with Cardinal Richelieu, had retired to London, whither Madame his wife and Mademoiselle his daughter had come to seek him and to stay with him. In compliance with an injunc-

tion to be observed at Easter, they all desired to confess and to receive the holy sacrament. On that day, I have said that the chapel of the Capuchins was shut, and that the Pope permits missionary priests to say mass privately in the houses of the Catholics. Agreeably to this power, Father Cyprien of Gamache, who was confessor in ordinary to Monsieur, Madame, and Mademoiselle d'Epéron, and their household, had been requested to come in the morning secretly to their residence to receive their confessions, to perform the holy mass there, to administer the holy sacrament to all; and, as the Parliament had forbidden the Capuchins to leave the place where they dwelt, in order that the Father should not be seen, and come more safely, M. d'Epéron sent a chair for him, in which he was brought.

No sooner had he finished the adorable sacrifice of the mass, and administered the holy sacrament to all present, than a man entered quite breathless to say that the Capuchins were apprehended, that their doors had been broken open, that their house was full of soldiers, and a multitude of other persons, who made a tremendous noise, were pouring forth all sorts of abuse against Papists, laughing at the Capuchins, taking away their slender store of provision, and their furniture. These dismal tidings rendered M. d'Epéron apprehensive that his house might be invested and pillaged, if it was discovered that Father Cyprien was concealed in it: he ordered him, therefore, to be carried in the chair to Monsieur the ambassador of the King of Portugal, the ambassador of the King of France not being then in England. The Capuchins had received orders from the King of France to remain in London, notwithstanding the absence of the Queen, which lasted above a year; and, inasmuch as the strange injustice of the Parliament had seized all the revenues of the King, the Capuchins, who cannot beg in those heretical countries, and who had previously lived exclusively upon the alms of the Queen, being unable to subsist, the Most Christian King commanded his officers to furnish them with all they had need of, and had even the goodness to write

to them, by the pen of Monsieur de Chavigny, Secretary of State.

At that time, you heard nothing talked of in London but the ruin and desolation of the Catholics. They had no longer any divine service; the Queen's chapel was shut up. They durst not now go, as formerly, to the ambassador's: the vehement animosity of the Puritans inflamed the people against them. Their house was plundered, their goods were carried off; plots, designs, enterprises, criminal correspondence, which they had never thought of, were attributed to them. I recollect that a noted Puritan, inspired by the devil, invented this detestable trick to render them odious to the most moderate Protestants. He carried a packet which he said he had found by accident, which was addressed to the Parliament, and he recommended that it should be opened. This packet contained a bloody handkerchief and a letter, the tenour of which was that those who should act against the Catholics would soon see their shirts stained with their own blood, as the blood of another had stained that handkerchief. Accursed, infernal, diabolical invention, which made innocence pass for criminal, and which filled the Parliament with fury against the poor Catholics, and against all that they hold in veneration!

After England had emerged from the darkness of paganism, to follow the light of the true faith, it made such great progress in Christian perfection that it gave to the Church militant an innumerable multitude of most virtuous persons of all classes and conditions, and to the Church triumphant many holy ecclesiastics, bishops, doctors, priests, monks, seculars even of the highest ranks, kings, queens, princes, princesses, marquisses, earls, and the like. It displayed its piety in so many churches, so many monasteries, so many sacred edifices, which it planted in the most conspicuous and public places, to keep up in the minds of the faithful a respectful and affectionate memorial of him who sacrificed himself upon it, and who gave his blood and his

life that we might live eternally with the angels in Paradise.

In the largest and most commercial street in London called Jaipsaide [Cheapside], had been seen from time immemorial an illustrious monument of the ancient and fervent devotion of this kingdom—a lofty, rich, handsome, gilt cross, wrought with extraordinary skill, surrounded by statues or representations in relievo of the twelve Apostles. Besides exhibiting to the eye the adorable mystery of our redemption, it was a handsome ornament and a noble antiquity to the city of London; hence it had subsisted amid the most raging fury of the heretics, amid the most vehement animosities against the Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who had declared herself a sworn enemy of the Romish Church, whose faith she had nevertheless professed, and had lived in it during her youth. She renounced it after the death of Queen Mary, in order to possess a kingdom which did not belong to her,¹ embraced the Protestant religion, inflicted dreadful cruelties upon the Catholics, banished some, ruined others, had these beheaded, those strangled, threw them all into deep affliction, caused the execrable laws to which we have adverted to be enacted against them, was insatiable of the blood of priests, for whom her satellites made strict search everywhere, pardoning none, ripping up their bellies, tearing out their bowels, cutting their bodies into four quarters, and putting them afterwards upon iron spikes, and setting them up on the gates of towns. Although, however, she manifested so rancorous and so strange a hatred against the Catholic religion, she never suffered the beautiful cross in Jaipsaide [Cheapside] to be touched; on the contrary, she had some of the gilding repaired, which the course of several centuries had effaced; so that this rich monument of the very fervent and commendable piety of the ancient English was not merely suffered to stand, but was embellished during the reign of that barbarous Queen. Her cruelties were

¹ Here are a few mistakes: we are afraid the zeal of Père Cyprien for his faith outruns his regard for truth.

not great enough to demolish and ruin it; for that the raging fury of a regicide Parliament was required.

It would not suffer what the Queen had tolerated in a good Spanish lady, a marchioness, a widow, and wealthy. Having heard of the sanguinary persecutions to which the Catholics were exposed in England; animated with a holy zeal, she went thither, in the genuine spirit of Christianity, to relieve the poor with the riches which God had bestowed on her, and to suffer with the persecuted. Her alms to the needy were very extensive; and, to draw upon herself every kind of contempt, confusion, and insult by a virtuous act of religion, she did honour publicly to the great cross of Jaipsaide [Cheapside], prostrating herself before an innumerable concourse of people, who loaded her with abuse, pelted her with mud and stones, hustled her, struck her.

The generous marchioness took pleasure in this ignominious and dangerous treatment, and by so holy an example, she animated the Catholics to endure suffering, and accused the insolence and the cruelty of the Protestants. To prevent similar circumstances, and to abolish in England all Catholic marks of religion, the rebel Parliament, surpassing in its fury the diabolical animosity of its most passionate heretical predecessors, ordered that noble cross to be pulled down, demolished, laid level, with the statues of the twelve Apostles, which were around it. The Puritans, triumphing in this accursed decree, carried it immediately into execution. The report of this proceeding spread throughout the whole city of London; people thronged to the spot from all quarters: drums and trumpets were sent for; ladders were raised against the cross.

The first whom fury urged to mount, drew upon himself a just punishment for his sacrilegious outrage, by a fall upon the iron spikes surrounding the statues of the Apostles, which pierced the body of the wretched man, and put an end to his life.¹ This fatal example, which ought to have made the others tremble, rendered them neither more timid nor less furious, attributing

¹ This incident appears to have escaped the chroniclers of the times.

the accident to chance, and not to the effect of the divine justice, which avenged the criminal hardihood of that man transported with passion. They therefore mounted the ladder after him, put ropes about the cross and the necks of the Apostles, which were pulled by a number of men with such violence, as to drag all of them down one after another. When their fury had succeeded in pulling down and smashing one, shouts of joy were raised, the drums beat, and the trumpets flourished, as for the gain of a great victory, or the taking of a town. These outrages to the images of the servants were transferred to those of the master, from the figures of the Apostles to the cross of Jesus Christ: and, without considering that he had so loved it that he had chosen it and bathed it with his precious blood; that he submitted to be attached to it; that his disciple St. Andrew honoured it, respected it, as being sanctified by the precious death of his dear Master; in short, that it was the noble instrument of our salvation—stiffing all these holy and true thoughts, those men, transported with rage, pulled down that beautiful and ancient cross; they sapped it at the foot, demolished and razed it so completely that not a vestige of it was left. Then the drums redoubled their rolling, the trumpets their notes of gladness, the people their shouts, their rejoicings, their hooting, their mockeries, their abuse, their revilings against the Catholics, whom they called Papists, idolaters, cursed race, servants of Antichrist.

It seemed as though it had been a representation of the things that were seen at the death of our Saviour, when all sorts of abuse were heaped upon him, when he was reproached with having saved others and being unable to save himself. “Look,” said they, “at that man, who boasted that he would destroy the Temple and rebuild it in the space of three days.” Some wagged their heads, out of the great contempt which they entertained for his person; others laughed at him as a cheat and impostor, and, without being touched even slightly by the horrible torments which he was suffering, said that

his crimes had deserved them, that the scourgings, the thorns, the nails, which had covered his whole body with blood, were a just punishment for his offences: while his apostles and his disciples kept concealed, for the fear which had seized them deterred them from appearing.

You would say that these impieties were transferred from the original to the figure. The Jews abhorred Jesus Christ as an impious wretch; the cross was a scandal to those furious heretics, who regarded it as an object of abhorrence. The Catholics, who hold it in veneration, were by them reputed idiots, idolaters, dolts. Not satisfied with holding them up to derision, they loaded them with all sorts of contumely, particularly on account of the worship which they paid to this blessed instrument of our salvation. The Jews mocked Jesus Christ; they hooted him, wagged their heads in scorn; these heretics did the same by the cross. Jesus Christ was scourged by the Jews, and the cross outraged by the heretics. The Jews represented Jesus Christ as an impostor, and these heretics say that the cross was a false sign of piety and an imposture of devotion. Mount Calvary rang with the noise of the confused voices and clamour of the people, saying, "Let him die! let him be crucified!" and in the great street of Jaipsaide [Cheapside], one of the highest in London, strange cries of an infinity of voices said, "Let the cross be thrown down, ruined, demolished, completely razed!" *Exinanite, exinanite, usque ad fundamentum!*

The Puritans, having so unhappily but so fully succeeded in their pernicious design, transported with joy, puffed up with pride, set about nothing less than exterminating all the Catholics in England, and abolishing their very name, beginning with the Queen's Capuchins. The shop-boys, whom they call 'prentices, are very numerous there; they raised them, and instigated them to go to Parliament to the number of three thousand, petitioning that the Capuchins should be expelled from England. Those Fathers heard every day nothing but threats of death, and expected no other than that fatal effects would ensue. They went several times in

a body before the altar of their church, that they might be slaughtered there all together, not by order of Parliament, but by the fury of the people and of the 'prentices, animated, as I have said, by the strong solicitations of the Puritans. To escape these sanguinary threats, the Capuchins concealed themselves in a secret place in the Queen's house. After consulting together, and discovering that their death was sought only out of hatred to the Catholic religion, they generously offered themselves to suffer, very glad to die in so good a cause; but this divine Providence did not permit. According to the decree of the Parliament, they were taken from Somerset House into the city, where they were kept in prison for a month, and, by another decree, banished from the kingdom of England and sent back to France, being, for this purpose, put on board a ship, which carried them to Calais.

It was already more than nine months that the Queen had been with the King, her husband, by whom she became pregnant, soon after her return from Holland. The time for her lying-in being near at hand, she resolved to pass it in the city of Exeter, where she was happily delivered of the Princess Henrietta Anne, who was married to Philip of Bourbon, only brother of the King of France, and Duke of Orleans. The favourable issue of this accouchement gave great joy, but it did not last long; for, the army of the Parliament being not far off, and preparing to besiege the city, the Queen, who knew it, was obliged, a fortnight after her delivery, to leave her new-born infant to the mercy of her furious enemies, to retire precipitately on board a ship, weak and ill as she was, to expose herself to the tempests of the sea, and to seek in France, her dear, native land, a sweet and secure asylum from the rage and persecution of her subjects.

On her passage, this afflicted princess was several times at the point of death, from extreme weakness, from violent apprehensions for her infant, abandoned to the fury of those tigers, and from a very serious and distressing accident, which divine Providence permitted

to try the firmness of her courage, and to heighten her virtues. The Parliament, which had possessed itself of all the King's forces, had given the command of the fleet to a cruel enemy of the King's. He weighed anchor at the moment of the Queen's embarkation, and, crowding all sail, pursued her ship, but was not able to overtake her, otherwise he would have made prize of her, as he designed and attempted to do, when her Majesty was returning from Holland to England; for then his rage rose to such a pitch that he ordered his guns to be fired, for the purpose of destroying the Queen and the crews of her ships, but God reserved her for other sufferings.

In all her travels by sea and land, she always had two Capuchins about her. In passing from England to Holland and from Holland to England, the fury of the tempests, by which several of her ships were lost, and the unwholesome air of the sea, made her attendants so sick and weak that not one of them was able to wait upon her. The Reverend Father Jean Marie Treston, who was then with her, rendered her all the services which she had previously received from twenty or thirty different persons. Having been a Knight of Malta, much at sea, his constitution had become so habituated to a naval life, that he received no inconvenience from it, and employed his health in charitably assisting all the sick, and particularly the Queen, for which she afterwards returned him many thanks, and of which she liked to talk to the King, to the gentlemen and ladies, and to the persons of quality who came to see her.

I have related above that this good Father had refused an illustrious marriage, renounced a large fortune, and relinquished high honours and expectations to embrace the cross and to follow Jesus Christ in his poverty, his sufferings, and his humility, in the Order of the Capuchins. Ever since he had taken the habit, he had so conducted himself that his holy life was an exemplar of the noblest virtues, which made him appear a genuine imitator and disciple of our Seraphic Father, St. Francis. He had an extraordinary affection for the most Blessed Virgin, recurred to her in all his necessities.

fasted every Saturday in honour of her, and never passed a day without addressing some prayers to her. God, being pleased to reward his good services, visited him with a severe illness soon after the persecution of the Parliament had forced the Queen to seek refuge in France. As soon as he found himself attacked by the disorder which at last laid him in the grave, he relinquished the sècular habit which he wore with the permission of the Pope, resumed with joy the dress of Capuchin, endured his violent pains with admirable patience and resignation, expressed the greatest sorrow for his offences, begged pardon of all his brethren, received most devoutly the Holy Sacrament and extreme unction, and passed happily from this miserable life to a better.

Father Cyprien of Gamache took his place by order of his Superiors and by the good pleasure of the Queen, who desired to have him about her. Accordingly, he attended her in all her journeys: wherever she went, in France or in England, wherever she abode in the royal residences in France, at St. Germain en Laye, at the Louvre, at the Palais Royal, at the chateau of Colombe, he paid her respectfully all the assiduities which she desired of him, and scarcely a day passed without his seeing her in private, agreeably to the order which he had received from her own lips, to converse with her on subjects of devotion which that pious Princess sought with the more evident ardour, the more the convulsions of her kingdom convinced her by fatal experience of the instability of honours, wealth, grandeur, pleasure, of all earthly things, and caused her also to regard them only with disgust. It was devotion that engaged her whole heart, and that inspired her with the thought of speedily fulfilling the vow which she had made at sea to Our Lady of Liesse. As soon as she had landed and arrived in France, she commissioned one of the most eminent goldsmiths of Paris to make her a beautiful ship of silver, complete in all its parts, wrought with the utmost perfection of which his art was capable. The goldsmith received her Majesty's order, with great submission and joy, commenced the work without delay,

and in some weeks, having finished it, he carried it to the Queen, who put it into the hands of the Capuchins, ordering them to go and offer it in her name in the church of Our Lady of Liesse, till inconveniences should cease to prevent her from performing the pilgrimage herself. The Capuchins, honoured by this commission, executed it forthwith. Six of her Majesty's Capuchins, who had then returned to France, carried this present to offer it to God and to Our Lady in the chapel of Liesse, celebrating the holy mass in thanksgiving for the preservation of the Queen, and then put into the hands of the Treasurer this present, with the following inscription :

Authori Perpetuæ Lætitiæ.

Henrica Maria, Regum Galliæ Henrici quarti filia, Ludovici XIII. Soror, Regis Britanniarum Caroli primi uxor, quod e Batavia rediens, gravissimis jactata tempestatibus, quibus demersæ sunt aliquot in ejus comitatu naves, incolumis in Angliam appulerit, votivam navem argenteam posuit.

Orans.

Componat tumidas animosa Britannia turbas,
Ut gravis insani concidit ira maris.

Votum.

Hanc Domino ponit Christo Christique parenti
Sospes ab Oceano Regina Britannica navem,
Et vovet insanas sic oderit Angliæ turbas
Ut Pelagi fluctus voto cessere præcantibus.

Patres Capucini Serenissimæ Reginæ cum eleemosinis, concionibus, et sacro ministerio, hoc clementissimum donum hæc in ædes lætitiæ detulerunt 4^o Maii, an. 1664.

Letter of the Queen of England to Monseigneur the Bishop of Laon.

Monsieur the Bishop of Laon,—I have been informed of the attention which you have paid to the reception of a little offering which the Capuchin Fathers have brought on my behalf to Our Lady of Liesse, as a token

of gratitude for having been preserved from shipwreck, through the goodness of our Lord and through the intercession of his most holy Mother, in a tempest which befel me last year at sea. Having also purposed to found a mass to be said every Saturday in the year for ever in the said chapel, I have ordered at the same time whatever is necessary to this end to be delivered, so that there is nothing further to be done than to draw up a contract. For this purpose, I send a Capuchin, one of my almoners, with power to do all that shall be needful on this occasion, promising myself that, as you have already taken some pains about this good work, you will continue to bestow such as are in your power and authority for terminating it, to the glory of God and to the honour of the most holy Virgin, and as a perpetual token of my gratitude to both. This is what I request of you, till I come in person to pay my vows in the said chapel, when I shall express how much I am obliged to you for everything. I pray God to have you in his keeping.

Your good friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Monsieur the Bishop of Laon,
at St. Germain en Laye, 7th September, 1644.

Letters of Monsieur the Treasurer and Monsieur the Receiver of the Chapel of Our Lady of Liesse.

I, the undersigned, Canon of Laon, and Treasurer in the chapel of Our Lady of Liesse, certify that I have received the sum of fifteen hundred livres from the Queen of England in the chapel of Liesse, at the charge of having low mass performed on the Saturday in every week for ever, promising that a contract to this effect shall be drawn up as soon as possible in the needful form. Done at Laon, the 8th of July, 1664.

A. LE VOIVIER.

We, the undersigned, Masters and Receivers of the Bishop of Laon, certify that Monsieur Le Voivier, Canon of Laon, and Treasurer of the chapel of Liesse, put into the chest of Our Lady of Laon, in our pre-

sence, the sum of fifteen hundred livres, given by the Queen of England, at the charge of celebrating, according to her intention, low mass in the chapel of Liesse every week on Saturday. Done 8th of July, 1644.

MARQUET. DE PONTY. PERRIN. AUBERT.

Now that the life of the Queen of England is out of danger in France, let us return in spirit and in thought to England, to witness there the bloody death of the priests, executed during and after her departure. The fury of the abominable Parliament was excessive, not only against its mild and lawful King, against his amiable Queen, against his whole royal house, but also against the English priests. All that the detestable laws had formerly enacted against them was renewed. The pursuivants, who are vicious men and mostly apostates, who knew the priests, went and ransacked Catholic houses in quest of them, for the purpose of seizing and dragging them to prison and the gibbet. When convicted of being priests, either by their own confession or the deposition of witnesses, without being guilty or even accused, the judge immediately sentenced them to that kind of death, which the hangman did not in general execute till three or four days after apprehension. During the whole time of their imprisonment, the Capuchins, disguised so that they could not be known, went to render them spiritual and corporeal assistance, to the utmost of their slender ability. Several Catholics did the like, especially in the two, three, or four days which intervened between apprehension and death. The money which they gave to the gaoler had two effects: it opened the prison-doors freely to them, and closed that of the priests' room, so that the exercises of religion practised could neither be seen nor known. For the priests said mass there, heard confessions, administered to the people the adorable sacrament in their disguise. Father Cyprien of Gamache, and Father Sebastien of Bar sur Seine, passed the night before their martyrdom with them, received images signed by their own blessed hands, with the promise of their prayers, confessed to them, heard their masses,

took the sacrament from their hands, said with them the litanies of the most Holy Virgin, of all the Saints, and many other prayers, to thank God for the great favours which he bestowed upon them, and to obtain from his bounty the especial grace to die holily, for his glory.

Thus prepared, these faithful and generous warriors left the prison, found at the door a hurdle upon which they were required to seat themselves, and then the horse moved away, drawing them to the place where they were to be sacrificed. The Capuchins followed them, and, mingling unknown among the multitude of the people, stayed till the conclusion of the sanguinary tragedy. The priests, on arriving at the place of execution, kept upon their hurdles, spoke standing to the people, prayed to God, thanked him aloud for the favour which he conferred on them to die for so good a cause, said that they were not condemned for any crime which they had committed, though they acknowledged themselves great sinners, but solely because they were invested with the character of priests, which in past ages had been venerable in England, offered prayers to God for the King and for his whole kingdom, forgave, from their heart, for their death, the judges who had unjustly condemned them, declared boldly that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion was the only true one, and that it was necessary to live and die in it in order to be saved.

The officer of justice who is present, and presides at this fatal tragedy, imposed silence upon them, and made them get up into a large cart, where there were several criminals. An unknown priest, who was in the crowd, then gave them the last absolution, after an act of contrition communicated to the priest by a sign previously agreed upon between them; for instance, lifting up the hands, or stooping the head. Meanwhile, the executioner put the ropes about their necks, did the same to the other criminals, fastened them to the gallows, and, the cart drawing off, they were left hanging. Without weighing upon them, or using any other violence, they were thus left till they were half strangled, and, the

priests being only half dead, the executioner cut the rope, placed them on the ground, stripped them of their clothes, cut off what decency forbids to be named, ripped open their bellies, tore out the bowels, separating the heart, which he held up to the people, crying aloud, "This is the heart of a traitor." He then threw the parts and bowels into a great fire, which was burning there. At last, to conclude this bloody tragedy, he cut the body into four parts, which were afterwards exposed on the point of iron spikes upon London Bridge.

The Catholics present at this horrible sight manifested unexampled fervour, dipping white cloths in the innocent blood of these generous martyrs. They exposed themselves to all sorts of dangers, in order to save from the fire their hearts, or some other part of their entrails, which they kissed, honoured, and preserved as sacred relics. The Capuchins brought away several which their zeal rescued from the flames; one of them was on the point of being despatched by the crowd; when, seeing a condemned priest arrive, in a wonderful transport, he went and embraced him, kissed him, and took him by the collar, to draw him away, and so preserve him most carefully. Instantly several cried out, "A priest! a priest!" which is a crime of State punishable with death in this unhappy country. At this outcry he was obliged to loose his hold, and quickly buried himself in the crowd with such address that he escaped.

In the first persecution which the detestable Parliament caused against the Catholics, two priests were apprehended and declared priests, one upon his own avowal, the other upon the declaration of witnesses: one was a friar of St. Benedict, the other a secular priest. Both were sentenced to be dragged upon a hurdle, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and then set up on spikes erected on London Bridge. This sentence, though cruel, was so agreeable to the friar, that he expressed excessive joy upon it. The secular priest, led by another way, was not in the same sentiments. He did all he could to obtain his pardon and his release

from this dreadful kind of death. On the eve of the day appointed for the execution, while we were at table in the prison taking a light supper, the person employed to obtain the pardon arrived, and said aloud that neither pardon nor favour was to be expected; that the Parliament was determined to put to death five priests who were prisoners, notwithstanding the pardon which the clemency of the King had granted them (his Majesty had promised not to grant any more, provided that the Parliament did not put to death those who had received that favour from his bounty), that now they must make up their minds and prepare for death.

The priest, hearing these tidings, of which he was forewarned by extraordinary favour, was totally changed. Death, of which he had previously entertained such dread, now seemed desirable; what he had before found bitter was in an instant rendered delicious, to our great astonishment. The joy which he felt could not be repressed, to such a degree did his heart overflow in these words of transport: "All for the best," said he, "'tis all for the best: we will die to-morrow for the cause of Jesus Christ. Ah! what a favour! how unworthy am I of it! I receive it purely from thy merits, O my Saviour!" And then, looking at us, "My Fathers," said he, "let us all together address our prayers to him, to thank him for this signal mercy, which ought to rejoice us. Let us then enjoy ourselves;" and putting his hand into his pocket, "Here," said he to an attendant, "take this money, and fetch us some Spanish wine." This was done immediately. All the conversation, during the remainder of supper, was on cheerful subjects mixed with holy rejoicing. Very soon after we had supped and returned thanks to God, one of us commenced the vocal prayers, which were continued alternately with the mental, till day-break. These good priests then celebrated the holy mass one after the other, and both offered themselves to the Eternal Father in sacrifice with the adorable sacrifice of the body and blood of his Son Jesus Christ.

We received the communion from their sacred hands, after receiving from their lips absolution from our sins at the tribunal of penitence. So they went generously and cheerfully to suffer the barbarous punishment expressed in their sentence. We had the happiness to follow them, and to witness their great courage and their exceeding zeal to die for the faith.

Another priest, filled with holy resolution, who, in the heat of martyrdom, was inspired by the Holy Ghost, surprised the officer of justice by a praiseworthy subtilty, in order to proclaim to the innumerable concourse of people there present the falseness of the Protestant religion, which they professed, and to show that the Catholic was the only true Church, the high esteem which he felt for it, his unshaken resolution, and his great joy in dying in it, in yielding his life and blood in defence of a cause so just, so noble, and so excellent. This generous soldier of Jesus Christ, being at the place of execution, the rope round his neck ready to be tied to the gallows, looking round upon the people, and fixing his eyes upon him who presided on this tragic occasion, "Sir," said he, "here am I condemned to die for no crime that I have committed against the King and against the State, but merely for having said mass in the quality of priest. It is true that death is very frightful in itself, and capable of striking terror into the stoutest hearts; still your decree obliges me to undergo it because I am a Catholic and a priest; but, sir, if I were now to renounce the Catholic religion and to turn Protestant, what would be done with me?" "I swear," replied the president, "that not only shall your sentence not be carried into effect, but that you shall be exempted from that ignominious and bloody death, all the preparations for which are before your eyes, but with life, which is the best gift of Nature, you shall be recompensed with some good living."

This was what the priest expected; not that he might avail himself of it according to the intention of the President, but to render his proposal and his Protestant

religion ridiculous, to dissuade the people from it, and to dispose them to the Catholic religion; for, on this flattering answer of the President, the priest, animated with the spirit of the Holy Ghost, raising his voice, said in a loud and very grave tone, to the whole assembly, "Gentlemen, you have heard the very advantageous offer made to me; you see that it depends only upon myself not to die here quitting the Catholic religion; you have heard that I have been promised both life, and recompence, and living, in the Protestant religion: but, no; it is not a religion; it is only a sect of which Luther and Calvin were the first authors. There is no other religion but the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman; it is the only true religion, founded by Jesus Christ, cemented by the precious blood of an innumerable host of martyrs, confirmed by an infinity of miracles; it was in this faith that our ancestors lived and died, (the English of past ages) and it is in it and for it that, by the grace of God, I shall rejoice to die."

These words, uttered with very great fervour, astonished all the people, greatly rejoiced the Catholics, deeply touched some Protestants, covered the President with shame and confusion, and in a furious rage he ordered the executioner to hang up that wretched traitor, as he called him, and to execute the rest of the sentence, which was accordingly done.¹

The death of these good priests being founded only on the Catholic religion, the truth of which they steadfastly defended, there was not one of the faithful but believed them to be real martyrs. Under this firm persuasion, the ambassador of Portugal, who was then in London, urged by a holy zeal, ardently desired to have the head of one of those whom I have just spoken of. To this end, he sent for the hangman who had executed them, treated secretly with him concerning the matter, agreed for a very considerable sum of money, one half of which he paid down immediately, and promised him the remainder on his bringing that blessed

¹ I have not been able to discover any corroboration of this: or of the equally incredible statements which it precedes.

head. What do you think the hangman did?—why, a real hangman's trick. He found to his thinking the execution of this affair easy by the following expedient. That same day a Protestant who had died was buried. At night, after dark, the hangman dug him up, cut off his head, put the body back into the coffin, covered it with earth, as before, carried the head so cut off to London Bridge, where was the priest's head stuck on the top of an iron spike, climbed up to remove that precious head and to put that of the Protestant in its place, that the fraud might not be discovered, and that nobody might perceive it: but his inhuman covetousness was punished, for, being very high and striving to accomplish his bloody design, he fell heavily upon the pavement, which bruised his whole body, and very narrowly missed falling into the river Thames: the earth from which he had taken the dead refusing to receive him, the element of water desiring to stifle him for his cruelties. So this wretched man, bruised, half killed, and unable to walk, had great difficulty to crawl to the ambassador, to withdraw his promise, saying that, while endeavouring to reach the head of the priest, he had been on the point of losing his own, and that he had lost much more than he had gained by his bargain, for he had only gained a trifle of money, and lost the sound health of his contused body.

A pursuivant, as cruel as this executioner, was more clever than he in his wickedness. I have said that those who are called in England pursuivants are infamous persons, most of them priests, friars, Catholics, apostates, blasphemers, in short, extremely vicious men, armed, nevertheless, with commissions for maltreating the Catholics to discover where mass is said, for imprisoning those who attend it, for extorting money from them, and, above all, for hanging priests.

One of these pursuivants, travelling in the country, fell in by the way with a priest in plain clothes, whom he took for a layman. He saluted him very civilly, inquired whither he was going, and, having learned this by the answer, he expressed great joy, because he should

have the honour of his company, as business called him to the same place. Thus they proceeded together. They conversed about passing events, about the different religions in England—Quakers, Papists, Independents, Brownists, Protestants; and in these conversations the priest, being upon his guard, was very reserved, and said nothing that could betray his character. This reserve caused the pursuivant to suspect that this man, so modest and so retiring, might possibly be a priest. He strove to discover him, put several questions, which the priest answered so adroitly that he left nothing for the pursuivant to lay hold of.

At night they went to a tavern, and supped together. After supper, the pursuivant retired to his bed, and, affecting to be a Catholic, in order to catch the priest, he took from his pocket a long chaplet, muttering as if he was praying. The priest, seeing him in this apparent devotion, believed him to be a Catholic, and, rejoicing at this meeting, he took out his breviary, which he kept concealed. This was what the pursuivant expected. Next morning he had his companion thrown into a dismal prison. Ingenious but diabolical artifice of this wicked man, who in this manner surprised, imprisoned, and caused the death of several good priests. After so many crimes, could you ever have conceived what was to happen to him? Infinite mercy of God, how admirable art thou! This persecutor of the Catholics, being forestalled by mighty grace, turned Catholic, and died penitent. It is likely that the priests whom he had martyred on earth, obtained for him this signal favour in heaven!

At this same time, a young English lady, to whom I was confessor, manifested such wonderful zeal and courage for religion, that she was apprehended, and put in prison, through the infamous treachery of her maid-servant, who received some money from the Puritans to accuse her of having harboured a priest in her house, and having permitted him to say mass. The judge knew her, and was anxious to find means from her answers not to be obliged to pass sentence of death upon her.

“I am greatly astonished,” said he, “that a young lady like you, of noble birth, and possessing abundance of good sense, should amuse yourself with the superstitions of the Papists, and attach yourself to them.”

“And I, sir,” answered she, “am much more astonished that you, who are a scholar, a man of learning, who know that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion has flourished so much in England, and supplied heaven with so many saints in the course of several centuries—you, who cannot be ignorant that the religion which you profess is not a religion, but a new sect unknown to our ancestors—I am astonished that you should follow it, forsaking the true faith of all our ancient fathers.”

The judge, confused at this reply, heard by two or three hundred persons, rejoined: “We are not here, madam, to resolve these questions, and to enter into controversies, but to examine if you are criminal or not. It is not within the sphere of women to be acquainted with the laws. You know not that our laws condemn to death all who harbour English priests in their houses.”

“Begging your pardon,” answered the lady, “I know that well enough. I heard it mentioned long ago, for I had the happiness to be brought up a Catholic. I was told of that unjust law in my childhood.”

“In that case,” rejoined the judge, “you ought to speak with more respect of the laws of this kingdom. You are somewhat ruffled: one must excuse your little effusion of anger.” And, endeavouring to save her, and to find the means of doing so in the innocence of her words—“Confess frankly,” said he, “that you knew not that he whom you harboured in your house was a priest.” Had she said “No,” as the judge desired, and as he had made an opening for her to do, he would have sent her back without condemning her. She ardently wished to die for so good a cause, wherefore she boldly answered that she well knew the man already condemned to be a priest, that she had received him under that quality, and that, if it were to do again, she would do the same.

She sought death, from which the judge was desirous to exempt her. He employed all sorts of devices to save her, and she exercised innocent assiduity to die. Accordingly, all these depositions obliged the judge to pass sentence of death upon her, condemning her to be hung, which is the usual punishment for all persons, both gentle and simple, in England.

This wished-for sentence gave great satisfaction to the servant of the young lady, who returned quite joyous to prison. One thing only caused her uneasiness: this was a very young child, a boy, whom she left destitute of fortune and assistance. I recommended him to the Duchess of Epernon, who was then in London, and whom I knew to be very charitable. At my request, she received the child into her house, and undertook to bring him up and provide for him. This good news wonderfully cheered the condemned lady, who was immediately relieved from her uneasiness, and gave a thousand blessings to Madame d'Epernon. Thus feeling in her heart an internal ease and peace, she forgot all earthly things, and employed the little time she had left in holy preparations for death. She could not thank God sufficiently for the innumerable blessings which she had received from his bounty, and particularly for the signal favour to be condemned for the defence of the true faith and of the true religion. She made a general confession, begged earnestly to be enrolled in the proud Order of our Seraphic Father, St. Francis; she retained the habit which she gloried in being invested with, and wearing outwardly as well as inwardly, at execution.

She passed the preceding night in prayer, was present at the adorable sacrifice of the mass, and, to strengthen herself by the heavenly nourishment of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, she received the holy communion. Morning being come, she took the money she had left, and put some pieces into her pocket to give to the executioner who was to perform for her the good office of putting her to death for so just a cause and on so noble an occasion. Her heart was filled with joy at the thought

that, Jesus Christ, her Lord and her God, having died for her, the greatest felicity that could befall her in this life was to die for him. In this holy disposition, the cart which was to convey her to the place of execution having arrived, she got into it cheerfully. The horse, which we followed, did not go so fast as she wished, so strongly did she desire to suffer immediately. That desire, however, was not fulfilled, through a particular mercy of the Providence of God, who, satisfied with her good-will, and her sincere resolution to sacrifice her dear Isaac, would not permit this bloody resolution to be accomplished: He, therefore, prevented Isaac from being sacrificed.

As the cart approached the place appointed for the death of the criminals, the judge, who followed, mounted on a fine horse, ordered the driver to stop; and the lady, apprehending that she should be prevented from dying, cried, "Come, driver, come along, I will give you a crown." The driver was obliged to obey the judge, and to set the lady down at the prison which she had just left—a circumstance incomparably more distressing and painful than death could have been was it, in her eyes, to be sent back, and left there for a long time; but she left it at last, and died holily a natural death, at the time of the last voyage of the Queen of England.

The devil, who has always been the ape of God, seeing him highly honoured in the Catholic religion by the holy and generous martyrs whom it gave to him, so bestirred himself, and was so active, that *the heresy of which he is the author* sacrificed others to him, as the following incidents show. It is wonderful to see in England the number of different sects, which all boast of following the genuine doctrine of Jesus Christ, and which, nevertheless, attack, and are at irreconcilable enmity with one another. We have made frequent mention of the Protestants and the Puritans, who, among these sects, form the two most considerable bodies, and are the most inveterate each against the other. As they profess contrary creeds, and are obstinately

attached to them, there is no violence that they do not employ in defence of them. The Protestants manifest the greater moderation of the two; but the outbreaks of the Puritans are extraordinary. This war of religion rages not only between province and province, but between town and town, between family and family, between servant and servant, between sister and sister, between brother and brother, of the same sect. If these differences did but terminate in mere disputes, in altercations, in words—but they go beyond threatening words and outrageous abuse, to cruel, barbarous, and sanguinary acts. Here is an instance.

Two brothers in the country, who would not be married, dwelt in the house of their mother, who was a widow, and lived respectably upon the produce of a farm which belonged to them. One of these brothers was a zealous Puritan, the other a moderate one. Conversing one day about the time, manner, and posture in which the sacrament ought to be taken, they were of totally different opinions. The zealous Puritan boasted that he followed pure Scripture; insisted that the Lord's Supper should be taken as the Apostles took it. The other said that there was no obligation to follow all that had been done in the observance of this sacrament; that the zealous Puritans, who piqued themselves on being so rigid in the observance of all things, did not practise it, since our Lord had held what is called his supper with the Apostles, in the evening after supper, and they take it in the morning before dinner. He added that this sacrament requires of us respect, devotion, reverence, both inward and outward; consequently, it ought to be received kneeling, not sitting. He adhered firmly to this argument, pressed it strongly, and several times the other had nothing to reply, grew warm, flew into a passion, instead of answers poured forth abuse; at length, in a furious rage, he used most outrageous language, stormed, and threatened. His eyes flashed, he foamed at the mouth, he could not brook being conquered. Boiling with rage, he meditated revenge, and employed his hands to obtain what his understanding could not

gain for him. He imagined that it was making a sacrifice to God to remove from the world a man so opposed to his word, and resolved to render him that pitiless service. He made up his mind to this sanguinary deed, and determined to be the executioner of his own brother. Abominable resolution, which he carried into effect with savage ferocity.

He armed himself with a large and very sharp knife, went in quest of his brother, crept softly into his room, looked about, perceived him. He approached him, and, favourably for his design, found him asleep. Rejoicing that easily and without resistance he could procure him an everlasting slumber, and send him into the other world, he grasped the knife, he lifted his arm to cut his throat, wounded him, and raised shrieks which reached the ears of his mother. She could not conceive what was the matter, and ran in great haste to the place whence the noise proceeded, to ascertain. When she reached it, O God, what a sight met her eyes! She beheld one of her sons dying, drowned in his blood; the other furious, foaming with rage, holding the great knife in his hand, distained with the blood of his poor expiring brother, which he had shed.

The heart of the mother was rent with grief; her strength failed her, and she fainted. Recovering, after some time, from her swoon, and eyeing the fratricide with affrighted looks, "Ah, villain!" she cried, "what hast thou done, wretch that thou art? Thou hast killed my son; rage and fury have made thee the butcher of thine own brother! What! imbrue thy cruel hands in his innocent blood! Go, abominable murderer; begone from my presence, and never let me see thee more! When I produced thee, it was not a human being that I brought into the world, but a monster, a lion, or a tiger. Would to God that thou hadst never existed, or that death had stifled thee at the moment of thy birth!"

The proud murderer, unable to brook these reproaches, threw off all respect, and renounced all the feelings of Nature; his raging fury, burning more violently than

before, inspired his heart with the detestable resolution to employ the weapon dripping with his brother's blood to spill that of his mother, and to put cruelly to death her from whom he had received life. Accordingly, gnashing his teeth, he went up to her, and, with a rage more than savage, raised his arm and thrust the knife into the body of her who had given him being, as if fratricide had not been sufficient for his execrable cruelty, without adding matricide to it. If we are to judge of the tree by its fruit, who but must feel horror of that obstinate and accursed adherence to one's own opinion, which is inseparable from all sorts of heresies, and especially the Puritan!¹

Here is another incident which happened nearly at the same time, and shows the extraordinary aberrations of that wretched sect, and the aversion which all genuine servants of God ought to entertain for it. Several Calvinists, with their ministers, having met, ordered a good supper to be provided for them. All being ready, the dishes being upon the table, each took his place, and the minister at the upper end: after some conversation on indifferent matters, the principal persons, keeping their glasses well filled, drank to the minister, and then fell to drinking to the health of one another. Growing warm, they began to declaim against the Papists; they were accused of superstition, railed at, ridiculed on several points, particularly in relation to the Lord's Supper. The minister, who was a shrewd fellow, and glad to get a treat at the expense of the others, took this occasion to say that their Reformation was in truth a work of Heaven, but that it was not wholly accomplished, in regard to the Lord's Supper. To render that work perfect, everything that Christ had done at the Lord's Supper ought to be precisely observed. Every one applauded this notable idea: the minister who originated it was warmly praised; it was even declared to be an inspiration of Heaven which

¹ This narrative is about the most lamentable instance on record of the moral blindness which religious bigotry will sometimes produce. Such atrocious murders, if they had been perpetrated, would have filled the whole kingdom with horror. Father Cyprien's zeal very far outruns his discretion here.

ought to be followed up and put into execution; and, as our Lord had held this feast in the evening, after supper, without longer deferring so pious a business, one of the party recommended that a good supper should be ordered for the next evening, and that they should afterwards hold the Lord's Supper exactly copied from the pattern that Christ had left us.

The whole party met again next evening at supper. They ate, drank, and enjoyed themselves. Supper being over, the time arrived for proceeding to the Lord's Supper:—"Gentlemen," said the minister, "we have not attended to one thing of consequence: here are many women in our company. There were none when Christ held his supper; the Apostles only were present. Therefore, to imitate it precisely, and to do exactly what he did, let us adjourn the party until to-morrow, give orders for another supper, at which there shall be men only, without any women."

Orders were accordingly given, and the men of the company did not fail duly to attend this religious supper. Having finished, and each being well primed with good cheer:—"Gentlemen," said the minister, "in the Lord's Supper which we are about to hold, there is one thing that gives me concern: we ought to observe all the circumstances, if it shall be in every respect like Christ's. Now, at the supper which he held, there was a Judas; which of our party will be that Apostle?" Nobody would offer to personate that wretched traitor. Again supper passed off, without any imitation of that instituted by Christ. Who can help being astonished at the extravagance of these deluded creatures, and at the cunning of their minister in taking advantage of their silly simplicity. This story furnishes only subject for laughter; here is a piteous tale, which can only make the reader weep.

One of these zealous Puritans, who cannot endure anything venerated by Catholics, beheld, with eyes of aversion, a large stone cross which had stood from time immemorial in the parish churchyard. He ardently desired that it should be thrown down and demolished.

Gladly would he have employed his arms for this purpose, but he was afraid of the people. Never did he pass it without an emotion of anger; this being, as he said, a mark of Popery and an object of superstition. In this unhappy disposition, he was elected churchwarden. He joyfully accepted the office, under the idea that he should have it in his power to overthrow with impunity that instrument of our salvation, which his ancestors had erected. Accordingly, animated by a zeal which was not of God, he caused that beautiful and ancient cross to be pulled down, the quality of churchwarden inspiring him with this boldness. The people murmured violently: some reproved him for it; others threatened him; but, after all, nothing more was done. The stones of the cross were placed against the wall of the church, where they lay for many years; till, at length, this enemy of the cross was, for the second time, put into the office of churchwarden. The demolition occasioned by him being then forgotten, and the stones in the same place, after they had been employed for a most sacred representation, he resolved to use them for the most ignominious and infamous purpose that can be imagined: my pen shudders to record it. He ordered them to be hollowed to serve for a hog-trough.

O God! what a change! To what excess does not Heresy carry the insolence of men! A thing consecrated to the divine worship, destined to represent to us the great and adorable mystery of our redemption, to be afterwards exposed to a horrible outrage, to such extreme degradation as to be turned into a trough for unclean animals, for the vilest of beasts, for hogs! O, divine Justice, wilt thou leave this crime unpunished? No, vengeance followed such atrocious misdeeds. The wretched Puritan, who was the author of them, went mad. He grew raving, took all the keys of his house, flung them into the well, threw himself in after them, and thus put an end to his detestable life. Tragic and fatal effect of heresy! Ah! who can tell all the disasters which it has produced in the world? the battles which it has fought? the blood which it has spilt? the pro-

vinces and the kingdoms which it has desolated? the innocent persons it has slaughtered? the crowned heads it has dethroned? and, whose lives, by a strange cruelty, it has taken away?

My pen shudders with horror at the infamous and barbarous treatment to which it subjected Charles I. He was a King very strict in his morals, prudent and mild in his government, exempt from the vices which generally sully thrones—in short, a pattern for good princes, who wanted nothing in order to be perfect but the true religion; and yet his subjects took up arms against him, drove him, as we have said, from his palace and his capital, robbed him of his revenues, made themselves masters of the forces of the kingdom; and, having conquered those whom loyalty armed in his defence, forced him to leave England, and to seek refuge in his kingdom of Scotland; and, as heresy is disloyal everywhere, this unfortunate prince found no more safety in Scotland than England. The Scotch, arrant Calvinists, who ought to have been transported with joy to possess this good King, refused him the protection which honour and compassion should have induced them to afford to the greatest criminal that had withdrawn to them, and put himself into their hands; on the contrary, had no thought of doing so. They sold him to the English for a sum of money paid down, like a brute beast. Ah! what an indignity to that crown! sold and bought in that manner! The English, furious and enraged against him, loaded him with abuse, offered him a thousand outrages and insults; and, by a detestable decree, ordered that his head should be cut off by the hand of the executioner; but, though the hand of the executioner was accustomed to blood, still it had such a horror of shedding that of its prince, that, to avoid being stained by it, the executioner secretly left London, and kept himself concealed on the day of execution. Another man in a mask, who was said to be a minister, took his place, and, more inhuman and cruel than a thousand executioners, holding in his hand a sharp cutlass, with a lion's rage and a tiger's fury,

struck his King with such force that, at one stroke, he severed his head from his body. O cruelty! O barbarity! O injustice! execrable, abominable parricide!—a most innocent King condemned to death by his own subjects; condemned, after receiving a thousand insults and outrages from them; condemned to die, and publicly by an ignominious death, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people, by the hand of an executioner, that is to say, of the vilest of men! Was there ever seen a more extraordinary injustice, a more horrible, more lamentable cruelty, a greater degradation of sceptres, thrones, princes, and monarchs!

The city of Paris was then blockaded, on account of some disorders of certain seditious persons. During the minority of the King, people could neither go in nor out of it without very great difficulty. The Queen of England, residing at the Louvre, had still a gentleman at St. Germain en Laye, where the court of France was staying, to receive news from England. During dinner, which I attended for the purpose of pronouncing a blessing on the table, some one came and apprised me to wait after grace was said, and not to leave her Majesty, but stop and comfort her, upon the sad tidings which were likely to be brought her of the lamentable death of the King her husband. This painful intelligence made me shudder all over, and detained me till the conclusion; after about an hour, the variety of conversation which took place on indifferent matters had not removed the uneasiness of the Queen, because she knew that the gentleman sent to St. Germain was coming back. She complained of his being so long in bringing her an answer; whereupon the Earl of St. Albans took occasion to say to her that “the gentleman was so faithful and so prompt in executing the commands of her Majesty, that he would not have failed to come sooner if the news had been favourable.” “What is it then?” asked the Queen. “I perceive plainly that you know.” The Earl replied that in fact he did know something of it; and, being pressed to tell, after several evasions and many ambiguous expressions to prepare her by little and little for the fatal intelligence, he at length declared it to her.

The Queen, not expecting anything of the kind, was so deeply shocked that for the moment she was quite overwhelmed, without words, without action, without motion, like a statue. A great philosopher says that moderate afflictions permit the heart to sigh and the mouth to lament, but that very extraordinary, terrible, and fatal accidents, fill the soul with a stupor which renders the lips mute and prevents the action of the senses. *Curæ leves loquuntur, graves stupent.* Such was the pitiable state to which the Queen was reduced. The words and the reasons that we employed to rouse her, found her deaf and insensible. We were obliged to desist, and to remain about her all in profound silence, some weeping, others sighing, all with dejected countenance, sympathizing in her extreme grief.

This continued till the beginning of the night, when the Duchess de Vendôme, to whom she was much attached, came to see her; all in tears, she respectfully took her hand, kissed it very affectionately, and then talked to her with such success that she roused this disconsolate princess from the extreme heaviness, or rather stupor, which the astounding and lamentable news of the King's death had produced. This world being afterwards disgusting to her, she turned her thoughts to the way of life which she should thenceforth lead. Retirement strongly attracted her, but she had with her Madame her daughter, whom the law of God and maternal love obliged her to take care of. Gladly would she have changed the magnificent residence which she had in the Louvre, for an humbler dwelling in some monastery; but the princess her daughter, eight or nine years old, was an obstacle.

Having maturely weighed these things, she resolved to retire for a time, with some of her ladies and bed-chamber women, to the monastery of the Carmelites, in the fauxbourg St. Jaques, at Paris, and to leave her daughter at the Louvre, recommending to the Countess of Morton, her gouvernante, to pay great attention to her morals, and to me of her learning. Thus this afflicted Queen left the Louvre with the tears of her household, went into the monastery of the Carmelites,

where she devoted herself more particularly to prayer, to mortification, to meditation, and to mental prayer, in which she adored the inscrutability of the judgments of God, paid her submission to the will of Providence, saw the great frailty of the creature, the inconstancy of the things of the earth, the slight estimation in which the grandeur, wealth, and honours of the world ought to be held, the importance of labouring for our salvation, the obligation to pray daily for the grace of heaven in order to arrive there.

Meanwhile, the affairs of the King her son and of the whole royal family were in a very bad state, and required her attentions, her counsels, and her efforts. I was employed to speak to her upon the subject: she yielded to my reasons, left the monastery, and came and continued to reside at the Louvre.

The furious tyranny of Cromwell, the author of the execrable parricide of his King, had already changed the ancient monarchical State of Great Britain into a Republic, caused it to be declared by Act of Parliament that the children of Charles I. had forfeited all the rights and revenues to which they could lay claim in all and each of the three kingdoms. The Scotch and the Irish did not consent to a decree so manifestly unjust; the Scotch being desirous to recover in some measure their honour, and to wipe off the stain of having sold their King, which had covered them with infamy, now received Charles II., who showed no resentment for their unworthy treatment of the King his father. The bad state of his affairs obliged him to smother his just resentment, to use towards those dissembling people a very ingenious and necessary dissimulation; he complied, therefore, with their humour, relinquished that majestic haughtiness which accompanies royalty, exhibiting to them nothing but an agreeable insinuating familiarity, which won them and indeed induced them to take up his defence, his cause, and his establishment, to begin with. They made him a great number of proposals, demanding several things, which he granted with a good grace. They declared

him, therefore, at once lawful King of the Kingdom of Scotland, published that declaration every where, gave the necessary orders for the august ceremony of the coronation, which was attended by all the lords and the gentry of the country, and celebrated by innumerable people with extraordinary rejoicings.

The next thing to which they turned their attention was raising an army. The officers, the colonels, and other commanders, formed altogether a considerable army, consisting of 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse, which 400 more, moved by the justice of so good a cause, came from various parts of Scotland to join. This army encamped at Ourcester, [Worcester] where it erected forts and the like fortifications, but which were of little utility; for the ambition of Cromwell, who kept vigilant watch for the consolidation of his extensive power, had no sooner received intelligence of this army than he meditated its destruction. He saw that the defeat of these Scotch troops was absolutely necessary for his interest. Wherefore, not content with employing all the forces of his army for the purpose, that he might not fall short in so important a business, he hired as many new soldiers as he could meet with. He disposed of all the revenues of the kingdom, and bestowed largesses on those who joined his party; so, in a very short time, he numbered 50,000 men in his army. Without losing a moment, he marched it, with thirty pieces of artillery, direct to Ourcester.

Near the city there was a fort, which was attacked with such violence and by so many men, that the courage and skill of its defenders could not save it. The siege of the city was immediately formed; the cannon began to play; the besieged made furious sallies; great numbers were slain on both sides, but the forces were too unequal: 13,000 men were not capable of resisting 50,000, abundantly provided with all sorts of warlike stores, and fortified by thirty heavy cannon.¹ On this occasion, the King displayed mar-

¹ Father Cyprien's account of the Battle of Worcester, and of the subsequent flight of the King, the reader will find frequently at variance with the ordinary authorities.

vellous courage, appearing sword in hand, animating the soldiers much more by his valorous example than by big words, and as, in the heat of the battle, his royal person was exposed to great danger, his most faithful servants with great prudence besought him to retire. Seeing the rout of his army and the great advantages of the enemy, the King followed their counsel, and found a favourable moment for carrying it into execution, for it was dark. Having ordered his captains to escape with their men as they best could by different roads, he set out himself, accompanied by the Earl d' Erby, [of Derby] the Earl of Rochester, and two of his colonels only, that he might not be known. He galloped without stopping till daybreak, and lodged in the house of a peasant whom the Earl of Rochester was particularly acquainted with, and whose fidelity he had put to the test. The name of the peasant was George Pendril, and he had five brothers, all older than himself. He besought his Majesty to permit him to fetch them to wait upon him. The King, fatigued with the battle and with the exertions of the night, was in no want of appetite, but the danger he was in obliged him to think of what was most urgent.

He could scarcely fail to be discovered, for search was making after him in all parts by such a multitude of soldiers. To balk their search and to escape their fury, he thought that he could not do better than to disguise himself, to put off all the marks of greatness, and to change his quality of king into the apparent form of a peasant, rendering himself by this expedient unknown to any of the parliamentary party who might meet with him. This resolution once formed was presently executed. The Earl of Rochester cut off the fine hair of the King, who stripped off all his clothes, to his very shirt, which he exchanged for one of coarse linen, green cloth breeches, a leathern doublet, an old rusty hat, thick shoes, and he carried a hatchet in his hand that he might not be recognised.

Two hundred Parliament horse came soon afterwards in quest of him to that place, but the King was

gone out into the next wood, to which Pendril had led him for the purpose of concealment. The two earls and the two other gentlemen, who had accompanied him from Ourcester, proposed to part from him, for fear their presence should excite a suspicion that his Majesty was not far off, and afford occasion for making search after him. The King thought their proposition judicious; whereupon they all took leave of him with great pain: among so many different roads, one took one, another another, to escape.

The Earl of d' Erby, brother-in-law of M. de la Tremouille, was taken, thrown into prison, sentenced to lose his head, for no other crime but being, according to the law of God, faithful to his King. He lived in the Huguenot religion, of the falseness of which a good priest had formerly convinced him; and of the truth of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church. From that time probably this earl would have embraced the faith, if many human considerations had not prevented him. Business having called away the priest to a certain place, while on his way thither, he felt within him something not to be described, which urged him to take another direction. Following the impulse, he went to the town where M. d' Erby was imprisoned. He paid him a visit, recalled himself to his remembrance, held conferences with him on the subject of religion, told him that he was about to appear before God, to have eternal happiness or misery irrevocably allotted to him, that his salvation was impossible out of the Romish Church, that he must be reconciled to it, and die in its faith in order to be saved; that, having been so faithful to his King, he ought not to finish this life in unfaithfulness to God. Aided by the assistance of grace, he acquiesced in these reasons, desired to be instructed, made his confession, received absolution for his heresy and his other sins, took the communion, and died a good Catholic.

Meanwhile, the King, in disguise, with a great hedging-bill in his hand, was in the wood, where the information which he received obliged him to stay, in order

to escape the pursuit of the Parliamentary horse, who were scouring the whole country in search of him. There was in the forest an oak of great size, with many wide-spreading, interlaced, leafy branches, having at the top of the trunk a place where six men might harbour without being perceived. The King climbed up to it, and with him a colonel who was attending him. There he rested. He slept for four hours, as soundly and as sweetly as he could have done in the softest bed. Notwithstanding his great haste and anxiety to get to this tree, the colonel had found means to fill his pockets with some pieces of bread and cheese, and had secured a bottle of beer. With this fare of a country servant, the King made a meal, to which appetite gave such zest, that the most dainty wines and viands had never seemed to him so delicious.

While the King stayed in this tree, the horse soldiers who spread themselves over the whole country, in hopes of taking him, being disappointed of finding him, retired, and enabled his Majesty to leave the wood and return to Pendril, his first host. He could not remain long there unknown. He was obliged to think of some other place. Several occurred to his mind. After carefully considering them, he deemed none of them more suitable and safe than the house of Monsieur Whihgrave [Whitgreave], a Catholic gentleman, with whose fidelity in his service he was perfectly acquainted. He resolved to go thither, and, as the road was long, and he could not travel on foot, Pendril, who was a great friend of the miller of the place, pretended to have particular occasion for the horse, which he used for carrying out his flour. He borrowed him, took him to the King, who mounted him, and immediately galloped off. In the darkness of the night, the horse, stumbling frequently, gave Pendril, who followed, occasion to say, with a view to amuse the King, that it was no wonder the poor beast's load was too heavy for him, since, instead of a sack of flour, which was his ordinary burden, he had now to bear three mighty kingdoms. The King laughed, and arrived very early in the morning at the

house of M. de Whihgrave, who received him with all sort of respect and with surprising satisfaction.

In this house there was an extremely secret place, where a priest dwelt concealed from the research of the pursuivants, who are appointed to apprehend and imprison the priests. The King betook himself to the secret lodge, tarried there in assurance, and took some rest and some slight refreshment. Soon afterwards, my Lord Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, came to seek him. The moment he perceived him, he felt his heart moved by two strong passions—the one pain, and the other pleasure—the one sorrow, the other joy. He rejoiced greatly to behold once more his dear master, and to behold him escaped from so many perils; but the wretched plight in which he saw him pierced his heart. Agitated by these different feelings, he threw himself at his feet, and, respectfully taking his hand, bathed it with the tears which joy and grief at once pressed from his eyes. To such a degree was he overwhelmed with astonishment, that he could not utter a word: he spoke only by his gestures, which expressed much better the feelings of his heart than the most eloquent language could have done; and then, recovering from his surprise, “Ah, my prince,” said he, “what a happiness for me, and what consolation to meet so fortunately with your Majesty! What thanksgiving do we not owe to Heaven, for having so wonderfully preserved you, after so marvellous a protection of your royal person! No, I have no doubt that God will gloriously seat you on the throne of your ancestors!”—“Let him do what he pleases,” said the King. “His divine will be done, and to him be never-ceasing thanks for all the assistances that I have received from him. You, too, sir,” added the King, “are greatly indebted to him, for having, through his means, escaped so many dangers. How have you come hither, and what has passed since our separation?”

Wilmot related how, after taking leave of his Majesty, my Lord d’Erby and he resolved to take different roads, that they might incur the less suspicion, and be

more likely to escape the notice of the soldiers, who were dispersed on all sides. This plan succeeded well with him, but was fatal to the other. Divine Providence permitted Lord d'Erby to fall into the hands of his enemies, who knew him, took him prisoner, gave information of it to the Parliament, who pronounced sentence of death upon him, which was forthwith tyrannically executed. The King, who was much attached to the gallant nobleman, could not learn these disasters, without feeling the deepest grief, and abhorring the abominable murders of the enraged Parliament.

It was necessary to consider of the means of saving the King: after long consultations upon the subject, the result was that there was no safety for him in England, and that it was absolutely necessary for him to leave the country. The resolution was good, but how was it to be put in practice? how travel such a distance to reach a port? and having arrived there how cross the sea without being known? Dissimulation was very requisite; in this affair, women far surpass men. Monsieur Wilmot knew one who possessed a superior understanding, and whom he believed to be fit for so great a design. Women have long been employed on such occasions. Heaven made use of the virtuous Judith, to raise the siege of Bethulia, and to deliver the inhabitants of that conquered town from death, with which they were threatened by the General Holofernes. The ruin of the Jewish nation was decreed, if Queen Esther had not prevented it by thwarting the schemes of the ambitious Aman, and becoming acquainted with King Ahasuerus; his detestable malice was justly visited with that punishment which his pride had designed to inflict upon others. People will talk for ever with praise of the Maid of Orleans, who, surmounting the weakness of her sex, took arms and fought with such brilliant success for France, that she rescued the King from the oppressions which he was suffering, and replaced him gloriously upon his throne. After these glorious examples, it is no wonder if the King of England and the Lord

Wilmot resolved to have recourse to the ingenious artifice of a woman, in order to deceive the eyes of the soldiers, to escape from their hands, and to get out of rebellious England safe and sound.

A colonel, named Lane, brave, generous, very loyal, and strongly attached to the service of the King, lived in those parts. He had a daughter about twenty-two years old, not remarkable for beauty, but endowed with a noble mind and superior understanding. Monsieur Wilmot, who was particularly acquainted with them, told them that they might easily do a memorable action, which would be the means of making their fortune, and which would gain them immortal glory in the sight of God and men: the business consisted in conducting the King to the city of Bristol, whence he might easily pass to France. The colonel and his daughter embraced this proposal with pleasure, protested that they would cheerfully risk their lives for the service of his Majesty, who received their good will very graciously, thanked them, and promised to make acknowledgment some day for all the kind offices that should be rendered him. It was then necessary to consider of the means of executing this important design.

The King wished to consult on this subject the opinions of those three persons who then composed his whole council. Monsieur Wilmot spoke first, and the other two afterwards. The King, having heard them all with attention, remarked particularly from their conversation that Colonel Lane had a married daughter at Bristol. This appeared to him a very favourable circumstance for his design, and he availed himself of it in the following manner. Madmoiselle Lane, the colonel's second daughter, was to make an excuse for visiting her sister; she was to perform the journey on horseback, riding behind a servant; the King, in disguise, was to be that servant; then, the roads being filled and occupied by soldiers, a passport would be wanted. She obtained one from the officer commanding in that quarter for the Parliament. Care had been previously taken to boil walnuts in their green husks; the liquor

was rubbed upon the King's face, and, instead of his pleasing fair complexion, gave him a colour darker than olive, and disfigured him entirely so that he was not to be known again.

As soon, then, as the passport had arrived, without losing a moment's time, the King took, instead of sceptre, a whip, instead of the royal mantle a servant's shabby surtout, and, thus equipped, mounted the horse; Mademoiselle Lane was lifted behind him, and away they galloped.

Having gone five or six leagues, they met young Lane, the lady's brother, returning from the house of one of his friends, whom he had been to see. Not knowing the business upon which she was going, or the young fellow who was conducting her, and who appeared in very mean plight, after reciprocal salutations, he said to her in English, "Who is that *rogue*—that is to say, mean beggarly fellow—who is conducting you? How can you take such a chap?" She replied that, having nobody to perform that service for her, and being in haste to set out, she had taken the first that came. And so they parted, to continue their journey, the one towards the house of their father, the others to Bristol, which they could not reach in one day.

Having galloped twenty miles, (that is the way they reckon in England) they alighted at an inn, where her conductor paid her all the attentions of a faithful serving-man, handed her up stairs to her chamber, fetched her everything she wanted, and looked after her supper. A maid servant obliging him to turn the spit, on which some meat was roasting for supper, he had so much deference for her, that he laid hold of the spit immediately, and began turning. His good will, which deserved praise, was rewarded only by ill language and abuse, for, not being bred to that occupation, he was less vigilant than he should have been, and, at last, the servant flew into a passion with him, calling him a stupid dolt who was fit for nothing. This treatment he bore with the more patience, because he had great difficulty to refrain from laughing. The spit being snatched from his hand

by violence, he went to give directions about his horse, and then waited upon his mistress at table. After supper, he left her in her own chamber, and retired himself to another.

Having slept soundly for five or six hours of the night, he rose, as soon as day began to dawn, when his vigilance had made every preparation for starting. His mistress was ready, so they mounted and galloped off in good style for seven or eight leagues, talking with glee of the innocent deceptions, of the cleverness with which the King counterfeited the servant, of the gravity of the lady, keeping up constantly a forced air of mistress, and receiving with authority the submission and the services of the King. During this agreeable conversation, they saw at a distance a party of horse in their road, and coming towards them. They were in quest of the King, who, nothing daunted and with head erect, spurring his horse, presently met them. All looked at him, but none of them knew him, neither had the slightest suspicion or mistrust who he was; all took him for a real servant and a mere valet—him, who was their lawful sovereign. They asked demoiselle Lane where she lived, whether she had seen the King of Scotland—so they called him, because he had been solemnly crowned there; if she knew where they were likely to find him; to which she might well have given the answer that St. Athanasius gave to those who were seeking him. He told them, Yes, and that he was not far off—and, in fact, the King was before the eyes of these horsemen, but Divine Providence deprived them of the faculty of recognising him, and permitted him not to fall into their barbarous hands, reserving, as we shall see, this generous prince for something great, for his divine glory.

Questions and answers being finished, the parties separated; the soldiers going one way, and our travellers the other, that is to say, towards Bristol, where they arrived safely. There they found Lord Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, who was greatly rejoiced at so happy a meeting, of which the dangers of travelling had excited

in him great apprehensions. It is an effect of love to feel alarm, and to apprehend misfortune for the beloved object, especially when one knows that it is in some danger. And, the more violent these alarms, apprehensions, and pains have been, the greater is afterwards the joy, when one sees the danger escaped. Such was the state of the excellent Wilmot, who had already bargained with a captain, a friend of his, for a ship to carry him secretly to France, with twelve or thirteen attendants.

While supper was getting ready, they retired to an apartment, and related all the adventures of their journey, which made them laugh more than the wittiest and most amusing comedy could ever have done. In this merry humour, they went to table as soon as they were apprized that the dishes were on it, and that all was ready. Mr. Wilmot took the upper end, and the King, though disguised as a groom, having so fortunately conducted Mademoiselle Lane, had permission to sit at the foot of the table. During supper, each acted his part to perfection—hunger rendering all the viands delicious. The captain of the ship came to inform them that it was time to be gone; but they showed no inclination to leave so soon what had been so well begun. That they might continue more at their ease, they pressed him to take a chair, and to enjoy himself along with them. He did not refuse; so there he was at table, eating and drinking; and, having pretty well satisfied his appetite, he looked around him and surveyed each of the party. He remarked a certain majesty in him who was placed below the others; and, as the King was much talked of about that time, he suspected that this might be he.

Supper being over, and the table cleared, he stepped up to Monsieur Wilmot, and whispered in his ear the idea which had occurred to him, and which was treated as absurd, and as a mere imagination, and which, in the end, proved true enough: for, as the wind was fair, no time was lost in getting on board, and, after sailing a night and a day, every one rejoiced to find himself off

the coast of Normandy.¹ On their arrival in port, their joy was redoubled, and mingled with thanksgivings to Divine Providence for its protection amidst such imminent dangers. Then was the rage of enemies conquered, alarm dispelled, assurance strengthened; all disguises ceased, Truth shed abroad her rays, revealing the condition of each, and proving that the captain was not mistaken in holding him to be a real King, who appeared in the character of a servant and performed its duties. In fact, all knelt before him, recognised him as true and legitimate sovereign: all paid their submission to him, and, among the rest, the captain of the ship, who there received with great joy a trifling present from his Majesty, with a promise that he would some day acknowledge the good service which he had done him. He returned well satisfied to the port of Bristol, without boasting of that which, had it been known to the Parliament, would infallibly have cost him his life.

The King, having thrown aside the mean attire of groom, and all the other marks of disguise, and put on apparel suitable to his rank, with a wig upon his head instead of his fine hair which had been cut off, came to Paris to join the Queen, his mother, who received him with transports of joy. She knew not whether she ought to believe her eyes, so strongly had she apprehended that she should lose him amidst the awful dangers to which he had been exposed, and from which she beheld him, through the grace of God, unexpectedly and happily preserved. She wished for the like blessing for her three other children, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and Madame Anne, whom the iniquitous Parliament kept closely confined in the royal house of St. James, in London.

The eldest of the three was a girl, called Madame Anne, about twelve years old. She was endowed with perfect beauty, great courage, and a fine understanding,

¹ It would appear, from Père Cyprien's relation, that Charles II. embarked from Bristol; but, as it is well known, the royal wanderings continued for some time after reaching that port, and that he subsequently escaped in a ship from Brighton.

which rendered her the more sensible to the misery of her captivity, inasmuch as her royal birth ought to have exempted her from it, and those who kept her prisoner were seditious, rebellious, bloodthirsty, parricidal subjects, deserving torments of all sorts. Conversing with her brother, the Duke of York, she often said to him, "If I were the Duke of York, I would not be here now." This advice, several times repeated, induced the Duke of York to resolve to act upon it. He had a valet de chambre, who was faithful to him. He told him that he placed perfect reliance upon him, and that, in this confidence, he asked, in the utmost secrecy, if there were any means to get out of England unknown, to pass over to France to the Queen, his mother. The valet de chambre replied that the affair was one of great importance; that it was necessary to think about it, and to keep it very secret. After long consideration, he thought that the business might be happily accomplished in this manner.

These illustrious children were accustomed frequently to pass the evening in a game which consisted in one of them hiding, and being then sought after by the others. The Duke of York was to pretend to hide himself, and, eluding his keepers, while the others were engaged in seeking him, he was to slip on hastily a girl's dress provided for him, and, in this disguise, he was to be conducted to the River Thames, which is near the palace of St. James, and get into a boat prepared to carry him to Gravesigne [Gravesend], which is only about twenty miles from London, and where all the large ships lie. There a vessel would be quite ready to receive him, without his being known, an agreement being first made with the master to carry two men and a little girl over to Holland for a certain sum of money. This plan was proposed to the little duke, who thought it very good, extremely ingenious, and prudent.

The author of the scheme got a girl's dress made, engaged a boatman, and agreed with the master of a ship. Everything being prepared and quite ready, and the last supper which these royal children were to take

together being over, the Duke of York said that they must have a game; that his brother and sister had hidden, and he had found them; but, for his part, he knew so secret a place, that he defied them both to find him. The challenge being accepted, he left the room, softly entered the park, to which he had the key, hastened to a place agreed upon, where he found his valet de chambre, who took off his doublet and breeches and put on him petticoats, frock, cap, and dressed him so cleverly by the light of the moon, that the most sharp-sighted would have taken him for a real girl. Thus equipped, he was taken to the boat, and by the boat to Gravesigne [Gravesend]. He went on board the ship which was to carry him over; but no sooner had he arrived, than the wind, which had been fair, shifted, and became so contrary, that it was impossible to get under weigh.

Meanwhile, his brother and sister kept seeking him, but to no purpose. One hour, two hours, passed in this search, in which they were joined by others, but these were not more successful than themselves. A report was soon circulated throughout the house that the Duke of York had escaped. The keepers were in consternation. There was not a place, not a corner, that was not examined; but to no purpose. The Duke's governor, who was responsible for him, was in violent agitation: he considered, he meditated, he mused, where the prince could be. He conceived that he could not be unknown in England, that he would of course have been persuaded to leave it; that for this purpose he must have gone to Gravesigne [Gravesend]. He immediately despatched a man on horseback post-haste to that place, where, as we have observed, the young prince was detained by contrary wind, which prevented his ship from leaving port. Alas! should he be taken, what can he expect from his barbarous enemy but a dreary prison, harsh treatment, perhaps a cruel death! But, O admirable providence of God, just before the arrival of the messenger, the wind shifted again and became quite fair; the anchor was weighed, the ship dropped down the river to the sea, and pursued her

voyage with such rapidity that in a very short time she entered a Dutch port. What joy for the young prince, and for the valet de chambre who had contrived his deliverance!

After taking some rest, they proceeded to the Princess of Orange, who was delighted to see them. On learning all the circumstances, she honoured with a valuable present and abundance of praise the valet de chambre who had so ably managed this important business. The tailors were soon set to work to make clothes for the Duke, who put off his petticoats and other female attire and adornments to appear as a prince. The strong desire which he felt to see his mother, who was in Paris, soon urged him to set out for France, having begged the princess, his sister, to consent to his departure. She would gladly have detained him longer, had she not preferred the satisfaction of the Queen, her mother, to her own gratification.

Accordingly, the Duke set out. Away he went, entered France, arrived in Paris, and immediately repaired to the Louvre, where the Queen, his mother, resided. He appeared before her, fell upon his knees, and humbly solicited her blessing. According to the holy custom of England, the Queen blessed him, raised him from the floor, clasped him in her arms, and kissed him with a joy which my pen cannot describe.

Meanwhile, a rumour ran through the city of London that the Duke of York had escaped. His governor was in great tribulation. Cromwell was alarmed, and expressed vehement anger; and, fearful that the Duke of Gloucester and his sister should follow this example, he had them taken from the royal house of St. James, and sent them to be shut up in the castle of [blank in the original—Carisbrook] where the King, their father, had been prisoner. The princess, then about twelve years old, endowed with an excellent understanding, justly appreciating her high birth, vexed at being obliged to leave the royal residence of St. James, was absorbed in melancholy thoughts on approaching the castle to which she was going. There she made

many doleful reflections: she thought that it was the wretched place where rebellious subjects had imprisoned their prince and their lawful Sovereign, where royalty had been treated like a slave by infamous rebels, where enraged malice had oppressed innocence, which the King, her dearest father, had quitted only to ascend a lamentable scaffold, and shuddered on calling to mind all the disasters and calamities of her royal house. These melancholy thoughts, which she long and studiously revolved in her mind, made such deep impressions on her heart, and so heated her blood, that a violent fever ensued. It seemed at first that it was too violent to last long, but the event proved otherwise; for the disorder kept increasing, resisted all remedies, and at length put an end to the life of the afflicted princess. The Queen, her mother, could not learn her melancholy death without shedding many tears. The King, her brother, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess of Orange, manifested the greater sorrow, on account of the illustrious and extraordinary qualities with which Nature had enriched that beautiful princess. They looked upon her as an instrument that might contribute to the re-establishment of their royal house by means of some high marriage.

Of all the children of the late King, the only one now left in wretched England was the Duke of Gloucester, who, notwithstanding his tender years, was carefully watched, lest he should be carried off, and should follow the example of the Duke of York. In fact, he had a strong desire to do so, and would gladly have carried it into execution, had he possessed the power. It was a great punishment to him to find himself separated by violence from the Queen, his most dear and honoured mother, from the King, and from the Duke of York, his brothers, and from the princesses, his sisters. His thoughts and his affections went every day to visit them; as he could not be with them in body, he was so, at least, in heart and spirit; and, keeping his secret to himself without revealing it to any body, he fortified himself in the resolution to get out of miserable Eng-

land, and to go to them as soon as Divine Providence should have opened the way for him.

Meanwhile, a year and more passed on. He incessantly revolved the design in his head, and thought to draw his valet de chambre into it imperceptibly. He expressed great friendship for and confidence in him: he gave him some slight hint of his intentions, and, perceiving that the valet de chambre showed no repugnance, he opened himself further to him, and spoke to him more freely. The latter, who was not deficient in good sense, applauded the Duke's idea; and, as interest is in general the master-wheel that sets at work all the others, and the powerful motive which makes people act, considering that the King and the Queen would reward him handsomely if he rescued the young prince from his captivity, he offered to do whatever he pleased, and promised him secrecy and fidelity. The Duke told him that he must speedily secure a ship, that he would go on board on the pretext of taking an airing, and so cross to France. As the whole was cleverly planned, so it was successfully executed.

What joy for the King, the Queen, and for all the royal family, after so many sad separations, to find themselves all together again in health, beyond the reach of the barbarous fury of the Parliament! And what subject of admiration to find in the little Duke, at so tender age, a conduct so judicious! He was endowed with such superior understanding, that, after the King's restoration, his brother, then scarcely seventeen years old, having a seat in the Upper House of Parliament, after each had given his opinion on the affair in hand, and the reasons on which it was founded, would repeat those opinions, with the reasons, of more than sixty persons composing the assembly. He refuted pleasingly in detail what each individual had advanced, and clearly pointed out the disadvantages; and then he gave his own sentiments, which he supported by solid reasoning. This increased his joy at his deliverance from captivity, on his happy arrival in Paris, and at the wished-for meeting with the Queen, his mother, and his brothers

and his sisters. France gave all of them pensions suitable to their rank, and assigned to them royal apartments, at first in the Louvre, afterwards in the Palais Royal. They took their meals together at the same table. Being obliged to attend there to give the benediction, I observed every day a great number of illustrious persons and others, who came to see them, and who pitied their unfortunate lot, considering them so accomplished and so unjustly expelled from their kingdom.

God, infinitely gracious, who aims only at good in the conduct of all the affairs of this world, never permits an evil, but with a view to the benefit which he purposes to draw from it. The convulsions in England by the regicide Parliament have been so strange, that all Europe is astonished that out of such great evils Divine Providence has caused great blessings to arise from the happy conversion of an innumerable multitude of persons of all sorts of conditions, who would never have become Catholics had the kingdom continued quiet.

I place in the first rank of illustrious persons Madame the princess Henriette Anne Stuart, whom the King, her father, would have kept continually in the Protestant religion, to counteract the ideas which several of his subjects entertained that he had himself a leaning towards Popery, and in the firm belief which he held, that salvation was not excluded either from the Protestant or from the Catholic religion, and that one may be saved in either.

Monsieur de Vinebant [Windebank?] was of this opinion, and therefore could not suffer the Catholics, and particularly the priests, to be maltreated, kindly preventing them, by his devices, from being imprisoned, or causing them to be released from the prisons and dungeons to which the rancorous malice of the Puritans had consigned them. To avoid the fury of the Parliament, this gentleman came to France. Conversation with the Catholics enabled his daughters to discover the error in which they were, and the grace of God imparted

resolution to renounce the Protestant religion, and to be received and enrolled in the Catholic Church. They made this happy change unknown to their father, who learned it soon afterwards from their own lips, who expressed his displeasure, alleging that in the Protestant religion, as in the Catholic, one may go to Paradise. Those pious ladies listened with patience to what their father said, answered him humbly, according to the instructions which they had received, found means to make a learned and virtuous priest speak to him, offered up prayers to God for his conversion, which they at length obtained with transports of joy. Some time afterwards, he fell sick, exhibited through all his illness striking sentiments of piety, contrition, love of God, gratitude and thanksgiving for the blessings which he had received, particularly for his vocation to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, in which, provided with all the sacraments, he passed happily from this life to a better. One of his daughters, who laboured hard in this affair, died in the odour of sanctity, and the other is at present one of the virtuous nuns at the Calvary of the Marais du Temple at Paris.

Madame the Countess Danneby,¹ sister of the late Duke of Buckinkam, and first Lady of Honour to the Queen of England, who had gone to France, followed the religion of her most dear and honoured mistress, and lived there in such innocence and purity, that, to the glory of God be it said, I frequently had trouble to find in her confessions subject for absolution. She died with all the marks of a predestined soul. Madame the Countess of Guildford,² her daughter, after some troubles of mind, yielded to the truth, and made profession of the Catholic religion. She persevered in it for a long time with extraordinary fervour, which seemed to verify in her the words of our Lord, that the last comers should be the first—*Erunt novissimi primi*. She succeeded Madame her mother in the post of first lady of

¹ The youngest sister of the first Duke of Buckingham was married to William Fielding, first Earl of Denbigh.

² Elizabeth married Lewis Viscount Boyle, who was killed at the battle of Liscarrol, on the 3rd of September, 1642. She was created Countess of Guildford in 1660.

honour, and was buried with her in the church of St. Eustache at Paris.

I should also place in this rank an eminent minister [chaplain] of the King's, called Dr. Gough, who united in his person the character of priest with the quality of Catholic. He has placed himself with the Reverend Fathers of the Oratory, where he still is, after serving our dearest Queen for some time as one of her almoners; otherwise, one might form a volume of all the others to whom the temporal calamities of England proved a great spiritual blessing, Divine Providence guiding and turning these unfortunate changes of State into happy changes for others, which grace wrought in them by the forsaking of the Protestant religion, and the holy profession of the Catholic religion. The number of these persons is countless. God has given me the grace to reconcile in Paris a multitude, whom the disturbances in their country had driven into France. I leave them in silence. God knoweth them—that is sufficient. There are, nevertheless, some more whom zeal for the glory of God requires me to note here.

The first of these persons is an Irish gentleman, commonly called Mylord Insinkuin [Inchiquin], who is still living. The Irish are to be commended for many things, especially for the Catholic religion, which they have almost all preserved inviolable. Their exclusion from places, the confiscation of their goods, imprisonment, exile, the most furious persecutions, have not been capable of making them renounce that blessed and ancient faith, handed down to them by their forefathers. It is true that, in the prodigious multitude of people who fill that kingdom, some have not shown that firmness, and, accommodating themselves to the times, have followed the religion, or rather the heresy, which King Edward and Queen Elizabeth caused to be preached to them. The ancestors of Monsieur de Insinkuin were of this number; forsaking the Catholic religion, they had since lived in the Puritan, and brought up their children in it, who not merely embraced its creed, but added thereto a violent hatred against Catholics.

Monsieur Insinkuin, transported with false zeal, manifested that hatred against them on all occasions that occurred during the whole time which he passed in that false religion. The rank of lord, the influence which he had in the country, the appointments with which the King had honoured him, furnished him with the means of exercising upon those innocent persons all the persecutions that error and animosity prompted. Never was Saul more ardent in such a cause: his fury was wreaked above all on the priests, whom he caused to be imprisoned, banished, even tried, and hanged with the greatest criminals. Seeing this, who would not have abhorred such a man! who would not have said that he was a victim of the Devil, whom hell was yawning to swallow! O mercy of God, how admirable art thou! After all these awful crimes, the grace of Heaven touched this miscreant, enlightened his mind, enabled him to see the falseness of his zeal, the errors of his creed, the truth of the Catholic religion, the heinousness of his offences, the terrible chastisements which he deserved, the obligation to pass the rest of his days in the faith of the Romish Church, and in all the most rigid exercises of penitence.

Such were the pious sentiments which he expressed on opening his heart to me, and desiring some direction for his conscience. It may be said of him, after his profession of the Catholic faith, that grace prevailed over his offences, and that it superabounded where vice had before reigned. God permitted him to be deprived of his possessions, banished from his country, reduced to extreme indigence by the injustice of the regicide Parliament. This was not sufficient to expiate his crimes: Divine Providence destined for him far greater calamities. Being invited to Portugal, to take the rank of general in the army, after a severe sea-fight with the Turks, he was made prisoner, with a son of his, carried to Algiers, subjected to outrages, stripes, wounds, chains, and, at length, redeemed after suffering grievously; and now he continues his penitence, with a Dutch wife, who

is furious against the Catholic religion, and keeps her husband in a state of continual penance.

Neither ought I to omit here a very noble English lady, called Madame Standeley [Stanley?], kinswoman of one of the most eminent divines, and of the most celebrated preachers in England, with whom I had, in London, several conferences respecting an English lady who renounced the Protestant religion to follow the Catholic—I preached at that time to the English nuns in the Faubourg St. Victor at Paris. Madame de Standeley frequently visited them, having come to France that she might not witness the strange disturbances and convulsions in her own country. She attended our sermons, which afforded me an easy means of speaking to her, of assuring her that I knew her relation, the minister; that I had conferred with him, that the lady who was the cause of our conference had become Catholic; that I hoped for the like success with her, when the grace of Heaven, together with my reasons, should have made her acquainted with the errors of the Protestant Church, and the truth of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish Church. She told me that she was so firmly founded in her faith, that he must be very clever who could draw her away from it, and induce her to embrace one so contrary. Her reply gave me occasion to produce my reasons in several conferences. She made a great number of objections, which were immediately answered. At length, her mind was so convinced, that she embraced the Catholic religion, of which she afterwards made a solemn profession. She had two daughters, to whom she said not a word about her change of religion, intending to oblige them, without any violence, but with a holy gentleness, to do what she had done. The elder, thirteen or fourteen years of age, fell sick. During her illness, thinking of the Protestant religion, which her mother had forsaken to follow the Catholic, she found herself in a perplexity of mind and in doubt, not knowing what to decide upon. In this state, her

mother coming to her: "My dear mother," said she, "if I die now, what will become of me? what will become of my soul? where would it go to?"—"Why, my dear?" asked the lady.—"Because," replied the patient judiciously, "I am neither Protestant nor Catholic. I cannot persuade myself that the Protestant religion is good, since you have renounced it; and I am not Catholic, because I am not acquainted with its faith, and make no profession of it. If you have found the true way to heaven, why do you not teach me it?"—Judicious reasoning of a girl, and inspired no doubt by grace, to convert her entirely to God, as it turned out! I spoke to her afterwards. I propounded the reasons which had won her mother to the Catholic religion; and, having explained to her our mysteries, and given her instructions for living as a good Catholic, she made a profession of that faith; recovered from her illness, obtained health of body together with that of mind, and afterwards evinced great fervours, which, increasing with age, have withdrawn her from the world, and made her a perfect nun of the Order of the Visitation.

I shall add one memorable circumstance which ought to be noted, as showing the force of grace and the power of the Holy Eucharist in a young lady, fourteen or fifteen years of age. Her father was an English Protestant, one of the first gentlemen in England; her mother, a Frenchwoman and Catholic. I had always instructed this little girl, along with the others of the court; and had strongly recommended to her to say every day a *Pater* and an *Ave* for the conversion of Monsieur her father. Being at the royal palace, where the Queen was then residing, God sent this young lady a severe illness, in which she had the happiness to receive all the sacraments. After she had received the Holy Eucharist, while we were following the priest who had administered it, and who was returning to St. Eustache, carrying the pyx, she expressed a strong desire to see her father, who went to her the moment he was informed of it. He having asked her how she was: "Papa," said she; "I have just received our

Lord in the Holy Eucharist; I have received it as a provision for performing happily the great journey to heaven, having nothing further to do on earth. That good Saviour, who gave his blood and his life to earn Paradise for us, inspires me to tell you, my dear papa, that you must be a Catholic to get thither. I am going to die, and I shall die with joy, if I see you in the disposition to be a Catholic. Yes, my dear papa, be Catholic; it is for your welfare, your happiness, your salvation. I tell you this from an inward feeling imparted by the good God whom I have just received, and who is now in my heart." These words, proceeding from the lips of a beloved daughter, and that daughter dying, so overpowered that good father, and affected him so deeply, that he was like one thunder-struck: his tongue continued mute. He answered only with his eyes, which poured forth abundance of tears. Thus weeping, violently agitated, and deeply sorrowing, he retired to a secluded place, to give vent to his grief, and to meditate the better upon the words of his expiring daughter.

On our return from the Holy Sacrament, which we had accompanied and conducted to St. Eustache, this good news was brought me, and gave me occasion to go to this gentleman. He was weeping, deeply afflicted, and, as far as I could perceive, inwardly much agitated. "It seems to me, sir," said I, "that what so deeply grieves ought to console you. Good children are a joy to their parents. Your dear child has always been remarkable for goodness; and now, in particular, God displays in her evident marks of a chosen vessel. Ah! what a subject for rejoicing! Yes, sir, instead of weeping, rejoice and thank the good God, who has bestowed so much grace upon her. I have heard that, during my absence, she has spoken to you. You may think, perhaps, that I have put into her mouth the words which she has uttered; but, that you may know that they come from God himself, who desires your conversion, who has inspired her with what she has said to you, who has spoken to you by her dying lips;

I declare, before Heaven and earth, that I have in no way solicited her to speak to you, that I have not prompted a single word of the searching discourse which she has held to you. It is God who has put into her mouth the most important words which she has addressed to you. Think well of it, sir; act for your own benefit; comply; give your consent to this extraordinary grace, which calls you to the Catholic religion. Break the chains which have hitherto bound you to the Protestant religion. Let these words of Job be verified in you, ‘Lord, thou wilt call me, and I will answer thee.—*Vocabis me, et ego respondebo tibi.*’—‘Hearken to day with effect to the voice which has spoken to you,’ says the Prophet. Ah! beware of rendering it useless to your salvation, by unhappily hardening your heart. *Hodie, si vocem Domini audietis, nolite obdurare corda vestra.*”

Grace, operating with these words, had made such a change in the gentleman, that he appeared already Catholic; but, immediately afterwards, the conferences which he had with a minister, who is now a Protestant bishop, ruined all his good sentiments, and, for that time, prevented his conversion, of which, however, there are still good hopes.¹

Madame, the Duchess of Richemont² [Richmond], only sister of the Duke of Buckinkam, is too illustrious a personage to pass over in silence her conversion, which made so much noise throughout the whole Kingdom of England, and even in France, where she was well known. She succeeded the Countesses of Danneby and Guildford in the very honourable place of first lady of honour to the late Queen of England—a title which she bore with great splendour and benefit. Though the Catholic religion was then in some sort tolerated, during the mild and quiet reign of Charles II., still it was not permitted, and there was danger that some dis-

¹ This appears to be the only instance where Protestantism is allowed the advantage against Capuchin arguments.

² Mary, first married to Charles Lord Herbert; secondly, to Esme Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox; and thirdly, to Thomas Howard, brother of Charles, Earl of Carlisle. She died in 1685.

pleasure of the Parliament should cause the rigorous laws against those who make profession of it to be put in force. This prevented many persons of quality from declaring themselves Catholics, contenting themselves with following and practising its doctrines in secret; nay, to conceal their opinions the more completely, some attended the service of the Protestants, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Holy See. These are commonly called Schismatics, and are excluded from the sacraments, unless they resolve and promise not to go any more to such assemblies: for, though they are Catholics in their hearts, their attendance at Protestant preachings is an apparent disavowal of this and an external profession of the Protestant religion, assumed that they may not be deemed Catholics, and that they may retain their property and hold places which the Catholic religion renders all those who profess it incapable of doing according to their pernicious laws. Two different briefs of Popes expressly forbid Catholics this attendance at the preaching of Protestant ministers. There are, however, English priests who explain away these briefs, and who secretly maintain that, on certain important occasions, Catholics may, without offence, frequent the churches of the Huguenots, and hear the sermons of the ministers. In this opinion, they admit them to confession, and administer the sacraments to them, without obliging them to desist from those practices.

Be this as it may, Madame the Duchess of Richemont was not like those concealed and timid Catholics. Her more generous zeal impelled her to declare herself openly a Catholic in the face of the whole court of England, to profess the Catholic faith publicly, and to perform solemnly all its exercises, without dreading either loss of her possessions, or disesteem of her person, or the reports circulated among the people to the prejudice of her reputation. All this serves to show what we have said, that God has drawn his glory from the disorders of England, by the holy death of so many generous martyrs, who have cheerfully given their blood

for the defence of the true faith, and for the happy conversion of a great number of illustrious persons, who have, by this means, renounced the Protestant Church, to follow and practise the Catholic faith.

But for these disasters, as I have observed, Madame the Princess Henriette would not have been brought up in France, whither she was taken to withdraw her from the barbarous hands which unjustly put to death the King her father. The Queen, her mother, a fortnight after her birth, was reduced to the cruel necessity of leaving her to save her life, crossing the sea, and coming to France. The Scripture says that Nature has impressed on the heart of a woman sentiments which will not permit her to forsake the infant to which she has given birth. *Nunquid oblivisci potest mulier infantem suum?* (Isaiah, xlix.) The thoughts of the Queen, on her arrival in France, flew a hundred times a day towards the princess, her daughter, left behind in England; and a hundred times her prayers, mingled with her tears, demanded her of God. Would he refuse so just a solicitation?—His heart is too tender not to grant it. In fact, He willed that the infant should be restored to the mother; and, because He found a glory in foiling strength by weakness, he employed weakness in this affair, and enabled it to triumph over the criminal prudence and the formidable power of the whole Parliament.

His goodness inspired the Countess of Morton, the gouvernante of the Princess, with the idea of stripping off her rich robes, her costly attire, her magnificent ornaments, to clothe herself in old rags, to assume the guise of a beggar, to pass for the wife of a valet de chambre, equally meanly clad, counterfeiting the mendicant; and, in like manner, the princess was dressed in a little tattered, patched frock, and called Peter, to conceal her the better. This precaution was not useless. The Countess, having maturely reflected upon the matter, thought that it might easily be accomplished, set about it, and soon saw her undertaking crowned by the effect, having made all her arrangements very se-

cretly. As she was tall, and of a very elegant figure, in order to appear humpbacked, she had some pieces of linen stuffed under her ragged gown. In this state she set out, carrying the infant in her arms, proceeded, reached the port without obstacle, and went on board the passage-vessel. Those to whom it belonged were very glad to get rid of this beggar-woman, and that France should be burdened with her. In this manner she crossed the sea. She arrived at Calais, where all dread of being known was at an end; the apprehensions of falling into the cruel hands of the Parliamentarians ceased; an agreeable assurance took the place of those feelings: disguise was no longer needed; the rags of mendicity were stripped off; each resumed the apparel suited to her rank; the name of Peter was changed to that of Princess.

Intelligence of the whole affair was despatched to the Queen, who quickly sent her carriages, and the gouvernante, with all her train, reached Paris in safety, and respectfully placed in the hands of her Majesty the precious deposit, which she had so happily preserved amidst so many awful dangers. O, the transports of joy! O, the excessive consolation to the heart of the Queen! She embraced, she hugged, she kissed again and again that royal infant. The father of the prodigal son made extraordinary rejoicings on his return; his delight and consolation were heightened by the reflection that this dear son had been lost, and was happily preserved and found, that a sort of death had taken away life, and that life was restored. The Queen, having much greater cause to say the same in another sense, had also more reason to open her heart to joy, and to fill it with consolation. Many thanksgivings did she render to God for this mercy; and, regarding the Princess as a child of blessing (*un enfant de bénédiction*), she resolved, with the grace of God, to have her instructed in the Catholic and Roman religion, and to use all her efforts to obtain the consent of the King, her husband.

Accordingly, as soon as the sparks of reason began

to glimmer in the mind of that precious child, the Queen honoured me with the command to instruct her, took the trouble herself to lead her to the chapel of the Louvre, where I taught the children the Christian doctrine, and, nobly exercising the humility of Christianity, she deemed it no abasement of the royal dignity to stay and listen all the time that I was catechising, like the lowest of the company; nay, the Spirit of God, which enables us to profit by the smallest things, inspired her with such a fondness for these instructions, that she said aloud, on going away, that she would always come to hear them. Such was her resolution; but it was not carried into effect, being set aside by persons who had not either her zeal or her humility.

However, I then began the instruction of that royal Princess; I infused into her infant mind the elements of the Christian religion, and adapted my instructions to her capacity. In proportion as her judgment became formed, and she advanced in that kind of knowledge, I unfolded to her the secrets of our mysteries, endeavoured to fill her mind with Gospel truths, and to impart to her a thorough conception of the three great obligations which she owed to God:—to be called to the Catholic religion, out of which there is no salvation; to profit so advantageously in spiritual matters by the revolutions and troubles in England; to have been chosen from all eternity to profess the true faith; to be the only one of the royal house to possess that ineffable felicity to see herself happily in the way to heaven, whither the princes and princesses of her family could not come, while heresy made them walk in other tracks. I represented to her mildly the greatness of these blessings, and how highly she ought to prize them, adoring Divine Providence, who had permitted the disturbances in Great Britain to save her; for, had that kingdom remained quiet, according to all human appearances, the King, her father, would not have consented to her being a Catholic, as we have already observed, as well to counteract the opinion of many of his subjects that he was inclined to Popery, as from being falsely, but firmly,

persuaded that Paradise is open to Protestants as well as to Catholics, and that both may alike be saved, whatever be their creeds.

And, because Madame the Countess of Morton was Protestant, and always present at the instructions which I gave to the little princess, I frequently urged these points—the great gratitude which she owed to God for her vocation to the Catholic religion; the importance of showing zeal, firmness, constancy, in it, of never separating from it for any human consideration or any interest whatever; because eternal salvation is preferable to all the grandeur, to all the advantages, to all the fortune of the world. I impressed upon her, by all the reasons proportioned to her understanding, that this salvation is not to be obtained but in the Catholic religion. This truth, so frequently repeated, caused Madame Morton to say, when familiarly conversing with the princess, “I do think Father Cyprien is working so hard at the catechism as much on my account as on your Royal Highness’s.” This the princess, who possessed a good understanding, related to me afterwards in secret.

I recollect that, one day, the Queen, her mother, seeing her with pleasure so warm in the cause of religion, said to her, “My dear, as you have so much zeal, why do you not convert your *gouvernante*?” “Madam,” replied the princess, in her childish reasoning, “I do as much as I can in that way.”—“And what is that?” rejoined the Queen. “Madam,” answered the princess, in her infantine innocence, “I embrace my *gouvernante*, I hug her, I kiss her, I say to her, ‘Madame Morton, be converted; be a Catholic: you must be a Catholic to be saved. Father Cyprien tells me so very often; you have heard him as well as I: be a Catholic, my good lady, and I will love you dearly!’” God, who makes use of the mouths of innocent little children to draw praise from them, caused this innocent princess to speak thus to her *gouvernante*, with whom I afterwards had several conferences: she became persuaded that the Catholic religion was the safest for

eternal salvation; human interests prevented her from admitting that it was absolutely necessary for it. At length, she was convinced; she acquiesced in it; she believed it; deferring, however, the practice of that faith from worldly considerations.

After long delays, she resolved to go to England, to settle all her affairs there, to return to France, and then make a public profession of the Catholic religion. But how awful are the judgments of God! and how dangerous it is not to answer him when, by oft-repeated inspirations, he speaks to our hearts, calls us, urges us to listen, and to obey him! Madame the *gouvernante* failed sorely in this duty. Success in this conduct proved extremely baneful to her: for, being in London, on account of her domestic affairs, she was seized with a very violent inflammatory fever, which led her into thoughts and resolutions contrary to the happy change which she had projected. Seeing a Catholic lady, a good friend of hers, enter her chamber—"Madam," said she, aloud, "talk not to me about religion; urge me not to be a Catholic, I never will be one." Thus died that miserable lady, who pretended to dispose of divine graces according to her good pleasure.¹

Madame the Duchess of Amilton [Hamilton] experienced a like fate. Several conversations touching religion induced her to resolve to renounce the Protestant and to embrace the Catholic. I was destined for her confessor, and to receive her into the Church. This matter was to be kept quite secret, because the duke, her husband, being a stanch Puritan, and a relation of the King's, would have been in a raging passion with his wife, and would have left no means untried to get us sent out of England. This idea, together with the amusements of the court, and various worldly considerations, were to this lady specious but unhappy pretexts for deferring her conversion from week to week and from month to month. Amidst these delays, she fell dangerously ill. The duke, her husband, suspected from some appearances that she

¹ The good Father is evidently here a little out of temper, and a good deal out of truth.

intended to be converted. To prevent this, he stayed continually with her, so that no priest should speak to her. She died without being reconciled to the Church. As she would not when she could have been, by a just judgment of God, she could not when she had a desire to be. So true it is that it behoves us to listen to God when he speaks to us, and to do what he inspires. The duchess was extremely deficient in this point as well as the Countess of Morton.

After all these amusing digressions, which are connected with the subject of which we are treating, to resume and to continue the history of our little princess, we must state that she was tenderly loved by the Queen, her mother, as it is commonly the case that fathers and mothers are fondest of the last child whom they have brought into the world; witness the patriarch Jacob, who was more attached to Joseph and Benjamin than to any of his other children. The Queen reckoned the little princess as the last of her children; though she had a true mother's affection for them all, yet it was remarked that the little princess was the best beloved. She was endowed with a noble understanding, extraordinary beauty, and uncommon skill in all the exercises befitting her royal rank. She was so successful in them, that she equalled the best performers in dancing, in playing upon musical instruments, in the ballet, and the like. Her agility, her exquisite figure, her sweetly majestic carriage, all her motions, were so correct, so well regulated, that there was nobody but praised her. The report of her abilities spread to all quarters. Madame the Duchess of Savoy envied her sister, the Queen, mother of the little princess, for it, expressed her high satisfaction, and, under the idea that she was brought up, like the other princes and princesses her brothers and sisters, in the Protestant religion, she added that it were to be wished that as great pains might be taken to form the mind of the princess, her niece, and to fill it with Christian truths, as were taken to form her body to all the noble exercises of her rank.

On this intimation, the Queen thought it necessary

to make known, not only to France, but to all the neighbouring States, that Madame her daughter was brought up in the profession of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church. For this purpose she commanded me to write, print, and publish the Christian instructions which I had given to the young princess. This command, and the order of my superiors, obliged me to give to the world *Les Exercices d'une Ame Royale*, containing the duties which every Christian owes to God, to the Saints, to his neighbour, and to himself, with the instructions and practices of the employments usual on working days and on holidays. These exercises, contained in three volumes, 8vo., were preceded by another small book, which explains the obligations of baptism. All these books, being published and distributed, made known what the Queen desired, namely, that Madame Henriette, her daughter, was educated in the Catholic religion.

As she advanced in age and perfection, the King, her brother, was replaced on his throne, miraculously, as it were, without war, without battle, without drawing a sword. This peaceful restoration, together with the excellent qualities of the princess, induced Monsieur the Duke of Orleans, with the consent of the King, his brother, and of the Queen, his mother, to solicit her in marriage, before concluding which, it was necessary to confer with the King of England. Orders for this journey were immediately given by the Queen, his mother, and they set out from hence in the month of November, 1660.

They took shipping at Calais, in English vessels, in which the highest nobles of the court of England had come to compliment and accompany the Queen on behalf of the King, her son. I know not if there was ever seen so dead a calm, which made the sea look like glass; the wind was so completely at rest, that the sails of the ships, deprived of the desirable breezes, kept those large vessels motionless. In spite of all the efforts of the crews, it took two days to cross from Calais to Dover, though the distance is so short, that, with a fair

wind, it may be performed in three hours. The Duke of York, high-admiral, came to receive the Queen, his mother, with the whole fleet, composed of such a multitude of ships, and ranged in such a manner, that their masts appeared like large trees, and resembled a spacious wood. When on board, the guns began to thunder; each ship firing in its turn and order, one after another, they kept up a noise marvellously loud and delightful, which lasted for a good half hour, at Calais and at Dover. All the rarest and the most exquisite viands rendered the supper sumptuous, not only for the Queen and for Madame her daughter, but likewise for all those who enjoyed it, gratifying the palate and satisfying that craving hunger which the calm sea air had produced. This regale was at the cost of the Duke of York, who knew that we were fasting—it was then Lent: in order to obtain an exemption for it, he had the goodness to come to us, and said, “I have heard that, at this time, you do not eat meat, and that you are fasting: you will fare ill, for not only have we no supply of fish, but all these people are Huguenots, who will not do what they might to treat you well; but, while I am speaking, I recollect that we have some sturgeon here. I will go and order it to be given to you.” We returned warm thanks to that prince, in admiration of his rare kindness.

On approaching Dover, the King came to meet the Queen, his mother: the respect, the attentions, and all the testimonies of perfect joy which he paid her may be better imagined than described. In this excess of joy, and in delightful conversations, the ships advanced and arrived at Dover, where the King had prepared festivities of extraordinary magnificence for his honoured mother, for the princess, his sister, and for all their retinues, whose expences he defrayed.

Arriving about three o'clock in the afternoon, the King, the Queen, the Duke of York, the Princess of Orange, and our princess Henriette, Prince Robert [Rupert], son of the Prince Palatine, King of Bohemia, the parties at the entertainment, were of different religions, some Catholics, some Protestants. Several dif-

ferent graces were said. The King's chaplain began, and blessed the viands after the Protestant fashion. Immediately afterwards, I did the same, according to the Catholic, saying in a grave and loud tone, "*Benedic Domine nos, et hæc tua dona quæ de tua largitate sumus sumpturi, per Christum Dominum nostrum,*" and, extending my arms, I made with the hand the sign of a large cross over the dishes, which had been set on the table, the King, the Queen, and all the others standing while grace was said. The Puritans, the Independents, the Quakers, of whom the town of Dover is full, and who are sworn foes to the ceremonies of the Church, and particularly to the sign of the cross, were highly astonished at the liberty which I took to make it thus publicly at the table of the Protestant King. They were much more astonished on the following day, when we said mass in a very large apartment, with all the doors open, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people, most of whom admired the devotion of the Catholics, others inflamed with rage, from a blind and highly criminal aversion which they bear to the Romish church.

We celebrated the same sacrifice, in the like manner, at Canterbury, in a much more spacious place, and before a much larger concourse of people. Several were sensibly touched with the reverence with which we treated those high and sacred mysteries, which they compared with the meanness and nakedness of their Lord's Supper.¹ This solemn and public sacrifice was much more striking in London, particularly at the great festival of Christmas, which, in the kingdom of England, is in some sort august beyond all other nations. At this time, the ordinances of the kingdom required the gentry to retire to their country houses, for the purpose of practising hospitality, that is to say, keeping a well-furnished table, and open to all comers. I know a nobleman who treated most sumptuously all sorts of persons, great and small, gentle and simple, who came to his house, from Christmas-day to the feast of the Three

¹ The good Father forgets in what manner this ceremonial was first performed.

Kings, expending more than 10,000 Jacobuses in this munificent and charitable donation. A thorn from the crown of our Lord, carried to England, and planted there, by St. Joseph, of Arimathea, according to ancient tradition, and the assurance of very grave authors, never misses flowering on Christmas-eve. The people of the place usually bring a branch to the King; and as, in those parts, they know nothing about the reform of the calendar, they count ten days after us. The late King, laughing, and holding this branch of thorn in his hand, said, that it proved that its calendar was better than ours, because that shrub blossomed on Christmas-eve, kept according to the style of England, and not according to ours.

This is said by way of digression, respecting that great festival, which was celebrated in the palace of Vuithall [Whitehall], where the King usually resides, with so much piety, pomp, and magnificence, that a great number of Protestants, who attended, were highly edified, and some reconciled to the Church. The Catholics, in particular, were delighted to see their religion so publicly and so solemnly professed, even in the residence of the King, after so many persecutions, so many unjust laws, so many atrocious edicts against their property and their persons, so many ruins and desolations, which they had suffered during the detestable rebellion of the regicide Parliament. One thing that grieved them much was the return of the Queen to France. However, the severity of this affliction was soothed by a strong hope that the stay of her Majesty at Paris would not be long, and that they should have the happiness to see her again soon in England, never more to leave it while she lived. Such was, in fact, the intention of this good princess, but Divine Providence disposed otherwise.

These earthly joys are generally mingled with bitterness. The happy arrival of the Queen in London, the public and peaceful exercise of the Catholic religion, in which she indulged, in the residence of the King, her son, the future marriage of Madame Henriette, her daughter, with Philip de Bourbon, only brother of the

King of France—these things, and several others, were agreeable subjects for rejoicing; but, very soon, there was a sad cause for alarm in violent and mortal pains which all at once attacked the Princess of Orange. She had been brought up, by order of the King, in the Protestant religion. The Queen, her mother, who could not openly oppose this order, had placed about her a young lady, who was secretly a Catholic, and who infused into her the sentiments of that holy faith. She represented to her in their conversations, when they were alone, that she was to be married, and, according to all appearance, either to the son of the Emperor of Germany, or to the Dauphin of France, or to the prince of Spain, who were all Catholics, and, of course, it was requisite that she should be Catholic. “I have no objection,” replied the princess; “let me be taken to mass: I shall be very glad to go.” She habitually carried a rosary in her pocket, which she took out and showed, in order to please us, when her sharp eyes perceived no Protestants. These excellent dispositions were thwarted by the great troubles of the kingdom, which required her to be sacrificed as an innocent victim for the public welfare, by giving her in marriage to the Prince of Orange, under the idea of receiving through him powerful succours in men, money, arms, and munitions of war, to crush the unhappy rebellion of the subjects of the King: so that unfortunate princess followed the Huguenot religion, agreeably to the manner in which it is practised in Holland.

Nevertheless, we cannot but believe that she always retained something of those good dispositions which she had manifested in her childhood. It was necessary to revive them in her illness; it was necessary to remind her of them, and to represent to her by solid reasons the importance of dying in the Catholic religion. Such was the design of the Queen, who did not succeed, through a strange dispensation of Divine Providence; the disease increasing suddenly to such a degree of violence as to put an end to the life of this unfortunate princess before she could be spoken to upon this subject.

I know not whether it was the Puritans who, when she first fell ill, spread a report that the disease of the princess was contagious, to prevent the Queen from going near her. In fact, Madame Henriette was removed from that place, and I had orders to accompany her to another royal house, called St. James. We had not been there long before word was brought us that the Princess of Orange had expired.

During the whole time that the Queen abode in London in the King's house, for the space of three months, there was but one table for the King, for the Queen, for the Duke and the Duchess of York, for the Princess of Orange before her death, for her sister, Madame Henriette, and for the Prince Palatine Robert [Rupert], son of the King of Bohemia. The dishes being placed on table, one of the King's ministers [chaplains] said a short prayer in the English language: immediately afterwards I began the *benedicite*, which those royal personages heard standing and with reverence. This practice is not observed in the Queen's household, though the King, her son, and the Duke and Duchess of York, Protestants, were at table: the minister [chaplain] was not there, and the Queen's priests alone pronounced the benediction. It happened one day, in the King's house, that the dishes were upon table and their Majesties ready for dinner; the minister and I, being at some distance, strove to get nearer in haste, but the people who filled the room prevented us from advancing. We were obliged to use some violence, in which the minister fell. The noblemen and gentlemen about the King then began to laugh and jeer, and say aloud that the minister was upset, knocked down, floored, and the priest victorious.¹

In the month of February, 1661, the Queen left London to return to France. She embarked at Gravesigne [Gravesend] with the King, her son, who came to escort her. Madame Henriette, future consort of Mon-

¹ A few pages back Père Cyprien testifies to the *piety* of this court: this example of it is just what might be expected from the distinguished circle over which "the Merry Monarch" presided.

sieur the Duke of Orleans, was so sick at sea that it was necessary to land at Portsmouth. During the fifteen days or thereabout which their Majesties stayed there, I went several times to hear the minister of that Huguenot town preach, and had afterwards some conferences with him, the success of which was very satisfactory. He admitted that there was error in the religion which he professed; that the Catholic was the safest, but that he could not follow it, having a wife and children, and no other means of subsistence but his living. I mentioned this to the Queen, to whose great zeal this favourable news was very agreeable. She ordered me to assure the minister that, if he would become Catholic, he should not want for assistance, and that, for her own part, she would settle on him for life an annuity equal to the produce of his living. With many thanks to the Queen, he said that, being unable to execute his design immediately, he would take the liberty to write about it to her grand almoner and me, when we should have arrived in Paris. I know not whether his letters were lost, or whether he was induced to change his resolution, God so permitting, having refused his favours when they were offered to him. Be this as it may, when at a distance we never could learn anything concerning him, nor ever heard talk of him through any that we met with.

The illness of Madame Henriette rendered our stay at Portsmouth extremely dull; and besides, the place itself has nothing agreeable about it but a fine harbour, being destitute of all other amusing things. As soon, therefore, as Nature had given that princess strength to walk and to endure the sea air, she went on board again with the Queen her mother, and afterwards all their attendants in several ships, which arrived safe at Havre de Grace. We were obliged by necessity to make some pause there, in order to take breath, and to make all requisite arrangements for the journey to Paris. The Queen was cautioned not to pass through Rouen, because the smallpox was rife there and had carried off several persons. This was thought, at first, to be a trick

of the governor and of the city, to spare themselves the attentions, services, and expense, necessary for the honourable and pompous reception of her Majesty.

Be this as it may, the Queen took another route, on which M. de Longueville, governor of Normandy, came to meet her with a squadron of horse, composed of the smartest and best mounted nobles in the whole province. He had near at hand a *château*, where he magnificently regaled her Majesty, all the gentlemen, all the ladies, and her whole court. Next day, the first President of the Parliament of Rouen, followed by his whole fine court of justice, came to pay his respects and submissions, accompanied by an excellent and eloquent speech, to which she listened with attention; and, as she was endowed with a very subtile and ready understanding, she made him on the spot a very judicious reply, and recommended to him the Capuchins of that province, with reference to some little disagreement with the Pères Penitens. The President deemed himself highly honoured by the approbation of her Majesty, held her recommendation of the Capuchins very dear, and promised to employ all the influence and authority which he possessed to ensure success to it. So, highly pleased, he took leave of the Queen, who got into her carriage and continued her journey, accompanied by M. de Longueville and all the gentlemen who had followed him. After they had gone a great way, the Queen presented her hearty thanks to all, but particularly to M. de Longueville, and obliged them to return home.

M. de Montagu, her grand almoner, abbot of St. Martin, at Pontoise, earnestly besought her to do him the honour, before she proceeded to Paris, to alight at his abbatial residence, which he had superbly fitted up and prepared for that purpose. She acquiesced in his request, alighted, and stopped in his house, and found all things in excellent order. While she was surveying the rich pictures, the jewellery, the porcelain, the embellishments, there was heard the sound of drums, trumpets, kettle-drums, and presently appeared the King, the Queen, and Monsieur, who came to salute the Queen,

and to express their joy at her happy arrival. The King and the Queen, his consort, conversed till night with the Queen of England; and Monsieur fancied himself in Paradise on seeing Madame Henriette, whom he tenderly loved, whom he regarded as his future wife, whose absence had given him very great pain and uneasiness. Having heard of her illness, his fears lest she should die had occasioned sleepless nights, excitement, agitation, inward pains, dreadful anguish. Looking stedfastly at her, he scarcely knew whether he ought to believe his eyes, so delighted was he to behold her again, and so overcome that he could hardly speak when he kissed her. After some pause, after recovering his spirits, he wished to learn from her own lips the success and the particulars of her journey. He listened with extreme attention and rapturous delight to the narrative of her adventures. Gladly would he have passed the night thus, but it grew late, and he was obliged to break off the conversation and return with the King to the *château* of St. Germain. Meanwhile, M. de Montagu had prepared a supper of the most delicate viands and the most delicious wines that he could procure for the Queen and all her attendants.

Louis XIII., father of Philip, Duke of Orleans, was own brother of Madame Henriette of Bourbon, Queen of England, mother of Madame Henriette Stuart. So the two illustrious persons, the offspring of such near relations, could not be married without a dispensation from his Holiness the Pope. For this purpose, as soon as the articles of marriage were agreed upon, a courier was despatched to Rome from their Majesties, who solicited the Pope to grant this important dispensation. It was brought during Lent, and the marriage was celebrated immediately in the chapel of the Palais Royal, where the Queen of England then resided. The whole was performed without pomp, without ostentation, without much ceremony, on account of Lent, which is a season of penance, of tears, of mortifications. Some days after the marriage was contracted, Monsieur wished to have his wife in his apartments in the

Tuileries and at Fontainebleau; the thing was just and according to God, but nevertheless attended with difficulty and vexation.

There is nothing so melancholy, so painful, so insupportable as the separation of persons who have a perfect love for each other. Between the Queen and Madame her daughter, the mother loved her daughter with excessive fondness, and the daughter loved the mother with a nobly humble and respectful affection. Ever since a spark of reason began to glimmer in the mind of Madame, she had never been parted from the Queen, her mother; she saw herself continually as if in her bosom: so she was her consolation in the calamities of England. After so many years passed in that manner, judge if the separation could take place without great violence. Hence it was that, when Monsieur came to fetch this princess and to take her to his apartments in the Tuileries, there was general mourning in the Palais Royal: sighs, tears, sobs, of the Queen and of Madame made some weep, melted the hearts of others, and pained all. It took some time to moderate the grief of these royal personages. Madame desired that the service which I rendered to the Queen her mother might not prevent me from seeing her, and continuing the same offices which I had performed for her before her marriage. I received orders to that effect from her Majesty also. I was, therefore, obliged to call upon her frequently during her stay at the Tuileries.

In private, I conversed with her on the dangers of the court and the necessity of grace to avoid them, of humility and fervent prayer, which must be frequently offered up to God to obtain that grace. I represented to her mildly that the illustrious quality of daughter of a King and wife of a very great prince, only brother of a very mighty monarch, ought never to make her forget that she was a Christian, whom it behoved to live like a Christian, to follow the precepts of Jesus Christ, and to imitate his life; that, being married, she owed great love, perfect fidelity, and entire submission to Monsieur, her husband. Sometimes, speaking of

the strange vicissitudes of England, I set before her, from fatal experience, the inconstancy of earthly greatness, the instability of all that the world prizes, the wretchedness and the brevity of this mortal life; the importance of attaching one's self to God and labouring for a happy eternity, which one never can arrive at but by purity of conscience and by the merit of good works, enemies of mortal sins, one alone of which is capable of depriving us for ever of that ineffable happiness, as many who are now groaning in hell experience to their great disaster, and as the devils themselves, who formerly were eminent angels, are forced to confess. Such were the subjects on which I talked to Madame, when obedience obliged me to go to see her at the Tuileries. The King left Paris, to pass the summer at the delightful and magnificent *château* of Fontainebleau. Monsieur and Madame accompanied him. The Queen of England stayed meanwhile at her house of Colombe. The obligation to remain with her separated me from Madame, whom I afterwards saw but seldom, and only when she sent to fetch me to hear her confession. I no longer talked or conversed with her about spiritual things but at such times, and that very briefly; company, business, the bustle of a great court which occupied that princess, depriving me then of the means of speaking to her as I had been accustomed to do. Seriously reflecting on what I said to her, she came sometimes to the *château* of Colombe, to pass two or three days with the Queen, her mother. I then had opportunity to see her conveniently, to speak with her in private, to touch mildly and quietly on the affairs of her conscience, on her exercises of devotion, on the instructions which she had received before her marriage, on the great importance of following them strictly, since a happy eternity depended upon it, in order that, now she had become a woman, she might retain in her memory and in her practice what she had learned as a girl.

I reminded her, in the space of half an hour, of the principal things on which I had conversed with her

during the course of several years. Thus passed all the rest of the time that I was employed in her spiritual guidance; that was till the last time that the Queen, her mother, returned from France to England; for, after so wide a separation of kingdoms and so great an estrangement, it was no longer possible to pay both even ordinary attention. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to give up one or the other. The person of Madame was very dear to us, but we had the greatest obligations to the Queen, her mother. Among so many holy religious orders as there are in France, she had particularly chosen the Capuchins to be continually about her royal person, to serve her as chaplains, almoners, and preachers; she had called them from France to England, to officiate in that magnificent chapel which her piety caused to be built, to the great blessing of many Protestants, who embraced the Catholic faith, and to the wonderful utility of the Catholics, who there found masses, sermons, catechisms, confessions, communions, vespers, complins, litanies, spiritual conferences, in short, the free exercise of their religion.

Besides these advantages, which imposed on the Capuchins the obligations of the deepest gratitude, and of perfect submission to the desires of her Majesty, her express commands and the order of Superiors were other ties which bound them inseparably to her service. As, therefore, I could not stay with Madame, I begged her not to take it amiss if I accompanied Madame, her mother, and proposed to her at the same time another Capuchin, whom she took instead of me for her confessor. This was the Reverend Father Jean Chrysostome, of Amiens, a monk of uncommon merit and capacity, who had passed through the principal offices of the Order of the Capuchins, and who had worthily acquitted himself of them. His learning, together with his polite manners, had made him preacher, reader in philosophy and theology, warden, master of the novices, and several times definitor in the Province of Paris. The excellent qualities with which he was endowed rendered him so agreeable to that illustrious princess,

that she always retained him for her confessor, and sent for him expressly to be attended by him in her last illness, in which she expressed such generous resolutions, so complete a disengagement from the earth, so much contrition for her faults, such ardent love of God, that all present unanimously judged that she quitted this world only to pass gloriously into heaven.

The Queen, solicited by the King her son, by the Duke of York, and by the greatest lords of England, to return to London, where she had added a superb building to her palace of Somerset House, resolved to leave France, gave the necessary orders for her journey, commanded me to accompany her, with the Reverend Father Apolinaire of Paris, who was then our companion after the decease of the Most Venerable Father Lambert, of Flicourt, a monk of great virtue and high example. Before the troubles in England, we were ten Capuchins in the service of her Majesty. The intrigues of the Fathers of the Oratory who had preceded us, who had been sent out of England by command of the King, and who were anxious to establish themselves there again, caused the Queen, through the medium of the Earl of St. Albans, to apply for no more than the two Capuchins, who were then actually in her service. Having recently received that impression which kept her fixed to that number, it was not the time to speak to her about the agreement between the two crowns, that ten Capuchins should officiate in her Majesty's chapel. It behoved us humbly to acquiesce in the application, and to await a favourable opportunity, and to manage adroitly with her, to obtain her consent to the re-establishment of the old number, ten. Our solicitations, favoured by the grace of God, were actually successful, notwithstanding the power of the Earl of St. Albans and M. de Montagu, grand almoner of her Majesty, who was a warm partisan of the Fathers of the Oratory, by means of one Father Gough, an intimate friend of those two gentlemen. From chaplain of the King of England, he had become Catholic, then Father

of the Oratory, and afterwards almoner of the Queen, as I have already said.

Our general chapter was then met at Rome, where the profound learning and the rare prudence of the most Reverend Father Antoine de Carpenedo induced all the Fathers having voices to vote for his being general of all the Capuchins. I wrote him a letter of congratulation touching his holy election, and informed him of the order which we had received from the Queen for our return to England.

After all the permissions, consents, benedictions, of our most Reverend Father General, and of our most Reverend Fathers Superiors of the Province of Paris, we were obliged to hold ourselves in readiness to attend the Queen on her journey, in order to continue in her service in England. She left Paris accompanied by Monsieur the Duke of Orleans and his wife, who escorted her to Beauvais, where they could not separate without abundance of tears, particularly on the part of the mother and the daughter. Madame, who had always been brought up under the eye of the Queen her mother, could not leave her, having never found in her any but a holy sweetness, amidst all the bitter trials attending the disturbances in England; and love, like a weight, which descends rather than ascends, kept the heart of the Queen pressed to that of her daughter, who could not bear that kingdoms and seas should part their persons: but this separation, being judiciously and steadfastly resolved upon, obliged both to submit: so Monsieur and Madame took the road to Paris, and the Queen that to Calais, where I found her, and the most Reverend Father Charles François, of Abbeville, preacher, a Capuchin full of zeal, who was learning the English language from a desire to be some day missionary in England. I did not neglect this opportunity to associate him with us, and to increase our numbers by degrees to ten, according to the old agreement between the two Crowns.

I took him to pay his respects to the Queen; I made him say a few English words, and at the same time

besought her Majesty to allow him to come and serve her with us. She complied; not knowing in what state her house and our lodgings in London were; she said we must wait till we were there before we sent for him to come to us. In fact, she promised to send for him when she should be settled in her palace of Somerset House. I made a very earnest supplication to her on the subject: she spoke about it to her grand almoner, who was adverse to us, and who inspired her with different sentiments; but I had already written to Calais, to direct the Father to come over as quickly as possible. He lost no time, and came in haste. No sooner was he in London, than I informed the Queen of his arrival. She was surprised at it, and by no means pleased: but the thing was done, and she had the goodness to assent to it presently afterwards.

When the cruel edict of the detestable Parliament had put to death its rightful King, banished the Queen, imprisoned and then exiled and sent back all her Capuchins to France, the magnificent chapel in which they celebrated the divine sacrifice was, alas! sacrilegiously changed into an infamous meeting-house of Huguenots, who smashed the images, pierced the crucifix with halberts, broke up the confessionals, demolished the altars, as I have already related, pulled down the house wherein we dwelt. Some private person obtained permission from the Parliament to build another there in its stead. The Queen, on her arrival in London, found that house full, and her chapel a scene of desolation. She was obliged to repair the latter, and to wait till the former was empty, in order to lodge us in it. While thus waiting, some months passed away; at length, the whole being repaired and fitted up, we began to perform divine service in the chapel, to the great consolation of the Catholics: the number of the old and the new, of those who were born of Catholic parents, and of others, Protestants converted to the faith, being very great, and coming from morning till noon to the church to be present at the adorable sacrifice of the mass, three Capuchin priests were too few to satisfy their devotion, to con-

fess them, to instruct them, to catechise them, to preach to them. We told the Queen this, and besought her zeal to permit us to send over to France for more Capuchins to serve along with us. The answer was, that she would speak to her grand almoner about it.

As she had an acute understanding, was very strict in reserving to every one his right, the superintendence of her chapel, which belonged to her grand almoner, required that he should at least be apprised of those who were taken to officiate there. We were assured of the good-will of the Queen, who had always approved highly of our services, who had been much pleased with the instruction that we had given to Madame her daughter, and who had honoured us on a thousand occasions with signal testimonies of her kindness. On the other hand, we knew that her grand almoner would have been glad to see Fathers of the Oratory in our places. Accordingly, he assented not to the proposal of her Majesty, who persisted in it, and acted so energetically in our favour, that he was at length obliged to consent; but with a circumstance, which sufficiently showed his dislike of us. Having more inclination than power to remove us from the service of the Queen, he resolved to have at least the satisfaction of excluding some of us from it. During a period of fifteen years, there had been ten of us Capuchins in this highly noble and useful office. Monsieur the grand almoner to the Queen thought that, on her re-establishment, eight would be sufficient for the service of her chapel and her person. She yielded at first, that she might not completely displease him; but I afterwards represented to her, that in this number eight there were two friars, and that six priests were not enough to attend to the altar, to celebrate the sacrifice of the mass the whole forenoon, and to perform honourably all the other functions, as well before her Majesty out of chapel as in her chapel. She admitted that this was true; and, notwithstanding the repugnance of her grand almoner, she promised to send for seven Capuchins of the Province of Paris to be

associated with us three, and to make up the number ten, which was speedily done.

The beautiful church, which had served the Huguenots for a meeting-house after our banishment, being completely repaired, and all the Capuchins who were to officiate in it having arrived, we began to perform divine service in it. The news soon spread among the Catholics, who then came in perfect quiet, without being in any way molested for their religion, by a holy toleration, through the bounty of the King. They came in crowds to this sacred place, to attend the adorable sacrifice of the mass, to confess, to receive the communion, to hear preaching and the catechism, which was taught in French and in English, to have their children baptized, to be married, according to the forms and ceremonies of the Romish Church. We performed peaceably all these functions, as we had been accustomed to do before the troubles of the kingdom, without the two Fathers of the Oratory, who were then in the Queen's service, and since happily deceased, finding their interests suffer in any respect whatever. On the contrary, they rejoiced thus to see religion flourish, and God glorified, through our ministry. We hoped for the like sentiments in those who succeeded them, wherefore they surprised us, when, favoured by Monsieur our grand almoner, and the Earl of St. Albans, who had great influence over the mind of the Queen, they pretended to a superiority over us in the performance of the spiritual functions, and to such a direction of her Majesty's chapel, that it was only by their permission that we were to administer the sacraments there, and under their authority.¹

I spoke to Monsieur the grand almoner on the subject, and calmly represented to him that, according to the treaty of peace between France and England, the Queen's chapel was to be served by the Capuchins only; that those Fathers of the Oratory had been left solely through an intrigue; that, on our arrival in England,

¹ The little jealousies of these ecclesiastics prove how unalterable is poor human nature, under whatever circumstance it may be placed.

they were to have returned to France; that their predecessors had never claimed this right; that, for the space of sixteen or seventeen years, that Monsieur Duperon, Bishop of Evreux, had held the office of grand almoner, we had always done the duty of the chapel peaceably under his authority, independently of any other; that this practice, founded on custom, ought not to be changed, unless for some very extraordinary cause, and no such appeared; lastly, that it was for him to award justice, which was entirely on our side. These reasons, and several others, made no impression upon his mind, which was mightily prejudiced and prepossessed. He remained inflexible, and decided, with animosity, against us and in favour of the Fathers of the Oratory. In this extremity, I had recourse to the Queen, who listened to me with great attention, charity, and patience; and, notwithstanding what her grand almoner and the Earl of St. Albans had previously said to her, she kept the balance so even, that, not content with continuing to us all the functions of her chapel, independently of the Fathers of the Oratory, she obliged them to apologize to us for their inconsiderate attempt.

We have already said that her great devotion to the mother of God had induced her to desire to have in her chapel the confraternity of the Holy Rosary, to attract English Catholics to the love of that most blessed Lady. She had actually applied for and obtained this ancient and truly noble confraternity from the most Reverend Father General of the Order of St. Dominic, who had made us Superiors of it, with power to admit all such persons who wished to be received into it as we should think proper. The Queen was the first who proposed to be received, and, after her, the gentlemen, the ladies, the people of the court, and numberless other Catholics, who repaired every Saturday to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, where her litanies were devoutly chanted. They confessed and communicated every first Sunday in the month, attended the solemn processions that were held on those days in honour of that Holy Lady; a beautiful image of whom, exquisitely carved out of that kind of

wood which is called *montaignu* [mahogany?], which Queen Mary de Medicis had brought from Flanders, and given to her very dear daughter, our Queen, was carried by a priest in his pontifical habit. This devotion of the Rosary was so striking, and made such impressions on the heart, that persons of all ranks came every day soliciting to be enrolled. Thus it continued for the space of several years, constantly increasing, till, in order to extinguish it, the Devil excited throughout the whole kingdom a furious war against religion, and against the King and the Queen, his beloved consort, obliging her to pass nearly twenty years in melancholy banishment. At length, through the mercy of God, that war ended; peace was restored to England, the Queen returned to London, and was reinstated in her palace. The first thing to which she directed her attention was the revival of the confraternity of the Rosary in her chapel; and she commanded me to write to the most Reverend Father General of the Order of St. Dominic to obtain his permission, which he granted, and highly praised the zeal of the Queen: thus the extinct devotion was rekindled; the brothers and sisters of the Rosary assembled; many others joined them, and increased and filled up the number of the persons deceased in that holy confraternity during the war. Solemn processions recommenced, with confessions and communions, the recitation of the Rosary, the whole service, and all the exercises of piety, which had been aforetime performed in honour of the Holy Virgin.

After the piety of the Queen had accomplished this salutary re-establishment of the Rosary, for the glory of God, for the honour of the most Holy Virgin, for the benefit and spiritual advancement of numberless Catholics, there were crowds of people who earnestly begged to be admitted into that holy congregation. The chapel became more frequented, conversions more common, our labours for the salvation of souls more arduous and unremitting. To enable us to be the more successful, and to render the mission still more flourishing, our Reverend Father Provincial, with the Reverend Fathers

definitors, sent us this letter, with the following regulations.

Letter of the Most Reverend Father Provincial of the Capuchins of the Province of Paris to all the Capuchin Missionaries in England.

The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is but just that, labouring in the business and for the general good of the whole province, and of each convent in particular, we should also devote a few hours to the welfare of your mission, which we consider as the noblest and holiest employment in our religion. We have, therefore, thought it right to draw up the little regulations which we transmit to you, that you may observe them faithfully, hoping that by this means your way of life may be more regular, that you may set a better example to your neighbours, and give more glory to God in your occupation. Accept these gifts, and let the Reverend Father Superior require them to be read at least once every two months. If we were with you, we should know better what you need, and add other regulations to these; but as our absence deprives us of all other light, we shall confine ourselves for the present to these, begging you to remember in your holy sacrifices him who is,

Venerable Fathers, your most humble and most affectionate servant in Jesus Christ,

F. NICOLAS, Provincial.

Regulations for the Fathers Missionaries in England.

The Friars ought frequently to recollect that they are not missionaries, and we dispense them only that they may labour seriously for the salvation of souls: and if, instead of thus employing themselves, they seek amusement in the unprofitable conversations of seculars, they abuse their dispensation, betray their conscience, and are absolute double-dealers.

Since the best means of being serviceable to others is to be good to one's self, and one cannot be good to one's self without fulfilling one's obligations, each will render

himself assiduous in the offices, in the communities, and in the mental prayers which are marvellously serviceable for rallying the mind dissipated by associating with seculars, and which give us a great advantage over all other missionaries. These exercises cannot be omitted by any one whatsoever, either for visiting in the town, or for mere conversation with seculars; but only for confessions, conferences with heretics, attendance on the sick, and the like.

The conduct of souls being a very difficult, but a very meritorious business, when well performed, very dangerous when carelessly executed, every one will study to do that duty without favour or affection to any creature, solely to glorify God. Let us strive to make ourselves very skilful in the discovery and practice of the means of effecting the salvation, and advancing to perfection those whom we guide.

Embarrassment with temporal things in favour of one's neighbour, being frequently an impediment to spiritual benefit, and an occasion of evil reports against the community, we forbid you to occupy yourselves with such, as also to receive letters from, or to send them to, seculars, to borrow, or to beg money to relieve the poor, &c.

Unless for some important spiritual benefit, any of these, or similar things, be necessary, the missionaries will not enter into them without the permission of the Father Superior, to whom an account must be given of everything; and when one is obliged to go out frequently for the conversion of heretics, one must acquaint the Father Superior with it, that he may know what business one is about, and what houses one frequents.

Our Seraphic Father, St. Francis, forbids in his rule *all suspicious consorting with women*, which has proved fatal to the greatest saints.¹ In order to avoid clashing with the most holy prohibition, to keep ourselves in good odour, and to withdraw ourselves from even the shadow of sin, we will that the Friars admit not females, whether single or married, into their chambers, and that they allow them not to enter their garden; but, when it

¹ This is an acknowledgment for which we were not quite prepared.

is necessary to speak to them, that this be done in the church, or in the house, in places set apart for the purpose; to which end the Father Superior will assign one or more places for conversation with such females, single or married, as may come to our house, and forbid them to be spoken with out of the places so set apart.

In order that blessed poverty may be better observed by the Fathers missionaries, we desire the Father Superior to be careful to provide for all the wants of the missionaries, whom we forbid to make use of money for ordinary and individual necessities, leaving the Father Superior to attend to all that, whenever it shall be necessary to go in a boat, or the like, which cannot be done without money, they may use it, with the blessing of the Superior, whom they will ask for it as it is wanted. But they must not keep any money in their rooms, or elsewhere, and shall receive what they have need of, by order of the Father Superior, to whom they shall deliver what they have left on their return, when they have satisfied the want for which they received the money. Done at Paris, in our definition, the 16th of September, 1668.

F. NICOLAS, Provincial.

Some missionaries having found difficulty in these reforms, the Reverend Father Provincial added to them this explanation, in a letter addressed to the Reverend Father Cyprien, of Gamache, Capuchin preacher, Superior of the Capuchin missionaries in the service of the Queen of England.

My Reverend Father,—Having heard that some of our missionaries in England find some difficulty in understanding some of the articles which have been made by the definition in our chapter for the good government of that mission, I am very glad to give you an elucidation of them in the three or four following articles :

1. That the service of the Queen and of the chapel be preferred to all things.
2. That the missionaries always bear in mind that they are not mere missionaries, but regular mission-

aries, who ought to unite regularity with the duties of the mission, without wishing to imitate those who live in private houses, who go and come, who do what they please, and as they please.

3. That our missionaries should not be abroad so much, nor go out so assiduously as not to stay at home one day in the week to collect themselves, to study, and to prepare themselves for the important employments of confessions, preaching, conferences with heretics.

4. That no one dispense himself from communities, prayers, regular services of the Queen, and of the chapel, unless with the permission of the Reverend Father Superior, or for some important business of the mission, which will be communicated to him, and which cannot be deferred till another time.

Such are the four articles which I beg you to be pleased particularly to enforce, that they may be strictly observed by our Father Missionaries, and all the rest that has been ordered in our last chapter by the definition, for the good government of that mission. Forget me not, too, I beg of you, in your holy sacrifices, who am, my Reverend Father,

Your most humble and affectionate servant,
F. NICOLAS, Provincial.

Dunkirk, 20th February, 1664.

The Queen beheld with great joy, in her chapel, the extraordinary influx of people who filled the confessionals, who came to the communion table, who attended the divine service with a fervour which animated her zeal, of which she gave signal tokens on many occasions, which Divine Providence afforded her: here is a noble example of it.

The English are habitually engaged in the navigation to the East Indies. Their ships coming from those distant parts, frequently put into the port of London, and are always bringing rarities thither. I know not how it happened that one of these ships had on board a little Chinese lad, fourteen or fifteen years old, sallow, of a gentle disposition, well made, and of good figure. He

was presented to the Queen, who received him very kindly, in a spirit of religion, with the intention of contributing her endeavours towards making him a Christian and a Catholic. Being incorporated with her household, and numbered among her servants, she ordered me to instruct him in the catechism, to influence him to wish to be a Christian. I received the command with submission and respect, and began to talk to this young heathen, who had already learned the English language, and entirely forgotten that of his own country.

It was in this language that, after some little conversations on indifferent things, I strove to make him comprehend, by natural reasons, that there is a God, who made this vast universe, and everything in it; that this God has no body, that he is a spirit, who has always existed, and will exist for ever, who is in heaven, on earth, in every place in the world; who sees everything, knows everything, possesses infinite knowledge; by whom man, animals, the elements, and all things have been produced; that this God is alone, and cannot be multiplied, because, in multiplication, he would not be infinitely perfect, the one not having the perfection of the other. Supposing there were more Gods than one—two, for example—these two Gods would not have the same perfections; having the same perfections, they would be entirely the same, and would be but one God: on the contrary, having different perfections, neither would be entirely perfect, not having the perfections that would be in his companion; thus neither would be God. This point was not difficult to the Chinese; he comprehended it extremely well,¹ but the mystery of the Trinity puzzled him; and as it is impenetrable, and infinitely above nature, so at first it appeared impossible to him. He could not persuade himself that God was perfectly sole and single, and that, in this simple unity, there were Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; three absolutely distinct persons, each of whom was God. He found the same difficulty in the incarnation, and in the Eucharist, being unable to conceive that a God, who,

¹ He must have been a very clever youth.

by his immensity, fills heaven and earth, was reduced to the small size of an infant, and afterwards to an ignominious death on a gibbet, and lastly, to the mean quality of victuals, serving Christians for spiritual food in the Holy Sacrament.

All this shocked him much; I therefore said to him that, these mysteries being elevated above nature, it was no wonder that natural reason could not reach them; that God, being all-powerful, all things were possible to him; that it was not naturally more difficult to God to change a visible substance into another that was invisible, than it would be to him to create heaven and earth out of nothing; that, being truth itself, he could not lie, and that he had revealed to us these things to which we had some resemblances in nature, as I pointed out to him. He acquiesced, and expressed no difficulty in believing the words hell, the immortality of the soul, rewards of the good, and punishment of the wicked after this life, the perfection and holiness of the Christian religion, and in its sacraments, its mysteries, and in all that it ordains and prescribes for children, in a countless number of virgins, confessors, martyrs, who have cheerfully given their blood and their lives in defence of the truth. I related to him some instances, which touched him, and, with the grace of Heaven, excited in him a desire to be a Catholic. This desire he repeatedly confirmed to me, and gave me occasion to tell him that this desire was an inestimable favour and blessing which he ought to prize highly, and to thank God for all his life, salvation being so bound up with Christianity that it was not possible to be saved without being a Christian. I then gave him the instruction necessary to prepare him for baptism, and informed the Queen of this happy success.

She rejoiced greatly, and it so spurred her piety, that she not only resolved to attend the ceremony of baptism, but deemed it no derogation from her royal dignity to perform the office of godmother, and to authorise what she had ordained touching our independence on the Fathers of the Oratory in the ecclesiastical

functions of her chapel. Without making any mention of them on this occasion, she directed me to provide all things for the striking solemnization of baptism, desired that I would officiate and baptize this youth, and sent to request M. the Abbé d' Aubigny, brother of the Duke of Richmond, and grand almoner of the young Queen, to name the boy, whom he called Peter, which was his own name. Thus, the young Chinese, so far distant from his country, deprived of his own father and mother, sustained a lucky loss, since he was made by the grace of baptism a real heir of Paradise, and had on earth for his spiritual father one of the most illustrious gentlemen of England, and for mother a mighty Queen, who designed to secure to him an honourable subsistence.

This sacred ceremony was performed before a great concourse of people; many Protestants were mingled with them, to be spectators of this noble action, to see the beauties of the chapel which they had heard talked of, and to take notice in what manner, with what ceremonies, we served God. Among these was a young man, versed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which he made it his profession to teach in London, in a public school, with his father, who was an eminent divine. I had several conversations with him, which he received with docility; he liked them, and took occasion from them to come to see me several times; and, after explaining to him, in many interviews, the principal points of our faith, grace at length appearing in his heart, he renounced the Protestant religion and embraced the Catholic, in which he manifested great fervour, employing himself with zeal in the conversion of his countrymen, in writing and *vivá voce*. Among those whom he has served in this important matter, his father is one of the most considerable.

We were conversing one day on the obligation to live in a Catholic manner in order to be saved. I told him that he ought to pray to God for that grace for all men in the world, and particularly for Monsieur, his father, and for Madmoisel, his mother, whose con-

version was so much the easier, because they led a strictly moral life; that, having received from them life, existence, education, and other advantages, he ought not to omit either prayers, or solicitations, or addresses, to withdraw them from heresy, and to lead them into the ways of salvation; that the procuring for them this internal felicity is, in some sort, a spiritual birth to those from whom he had received the corporeal. Hearing this, the young man, animated with holy fervour, resolved to undertake the affair, though he saw at first very great obstacles. His father had always preached and taught a doctrine contrary to the Romish; his school gained him high acquaintance, made him many friends, afforded an honourable subsistence to his large family, by the considerable profit which he derived from it. He could not embrace the Catholic religion, without ceasing, not only to preach, but even to frequent any Protestant church, his continual absence from which would cause him to be looked upon as a Catholic, and this persuasion of the people would ruin his school, and prevent him from teaching, which he could not do without the permission of the bishop, who would not give it to a Catholic.

These reasons, and many others, were strong, these obstacles powerful, but grace proved stronger and more powerful. It prevailed against them all, and proved nobly victorious through the mediation of the son, who, upon pretext of a walk, drew his father to our house, introduced me to him, afforded me the means of speaking to him, and conversing with him. After the usual civilities, we had several conversations, temperate, but, at the same time, forcible; the result was that the Holy Ghost, acting powerfully on the heart of the minister, filled him with confidence, and inspired him with a generous resolution to renounce all human interests for the salvation of his soul, to forsake the Protestant religion, to live and die in the Catholic. After receiving the necessary instructions on this important subject, being well prepared for the profession of the faith, I thought that he ought to make it accompanied by

prudence; that it should nevertheless be as solemn as possible, that we might draw others by this holy example. I spoke on the subject to the Queen, who thought my proposal reasonable, took a warm interest in this affair, rejoiced greatly, and determined to be present with the Catholics of her court at this holy act. Monsieur the Abbé de Montagu took no less interest, and expressed no less satisfaction, on account of this event. I requested him to perform the ceremony, in order to render it more solemn.

On the day appointed, therefore, dressed in alb and stole, seated on a rich chair before the altar, the minister, kneeling at his feet, after a short discourse that was addressed to him, declared aloud, that the Protestant religion, in which he had too long lived, was one of error, which he renounced with all his heart; that he deeply regretted having passed so many years separated from the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish Church, which he believed to be the only true Church, and humbly begged to be received into it; then, in a solemn and elevated tone, he made the profession of faith of the sacred council of Trent. Monsieur, the grand almoner, exhorted him to continue stedfast in that faith, and to acknowledge all the days of his life that very great felicity, to pay humble thanks to God for it, and then he gave him absolution from heresy, reconciled him with the Church, and sent him to me for his sacramental confession, the whole in presence of the Queen and the Catholics of her court.

Being thus happily converted, having made his confession, and twice or thrice received our Lord Jesus Christ in the adorable sacrament of the Eucharist, he took pains to communicate to his family the great felicity which he himself enjoyed. His wife was a lady perfectly well bred, morally virtuous, of a mild disposition, who esteemed her learned husband a very excellent man, who had great confidence in him, and lived with him in great harmony. In these excellent dispositions, she could not learn his change of religion, and the powerful motive which had urged him to it, without

being mightily touched, and without thinking of following him, that she might not be separated from him in faith, as she had never been in affection and charity. She therefore wished to be more particularly instructed in so important an affair, which involved the peace of her house and her eternal salvation. The reasons which clearly and solidly proved the falsehood of the Protestant religion, and the constant truth of the Catholic, were propounded to her in detail. She comprehended them, examined them, reflected much upon them, and at length acquiesced in them. Thus grace effected, without much difficulty, her conversion and that of all her children.

It was afterwards wonderful to see the fervour of all these new converts, who shamed the cowardice of ancient Catholics, and who strikingly proved, in their holy examples, the truth of these words of our Lord, *Erunt novissimi primi*—"The last shall be first;" being gained last for the service of God, by their fervent exercises they shall, in a short time, make greater progress in virtue, and advance much further in perfection than the others have done in the course of many years. The minister, his wife, and his children, came separately with great assiduity, on Sundays and holidays, to the sacrifice of the mass, to vespers, to complins. We put the minister into a particular place, where he could see and hear the priest at the altar, without being himself seen by anybody: his wife, who had her face masked and muffled up in a scarf, entered the Church with reverence, but freely, and took her place with the other women. Their devotion was great to the most Holy Eucharist, which they received every month, and on all high festivals, with an extraordinary sense of the awfulness of that august sacrament and of their own unworthiness. After leading this praiseworthy life for four or five years, they ended it by a happy death. Of the whole family, two children only were left, who thanked God every day for the mercies which they had received from his goodness; and particularly for the favour of their vocation to the Catholic Church.

If the conversion of this whole happy family gave me great joy, as there is no satisfaction on earth that is not mingled with or followed by something unpleasant, I received, about this time, sad tidings which rent my heart with grief. Before the troubles in England, and the unjust decree for our return to France, I had the direction of a good Catholic lady married to a Protestant knight, who was engaged in various commissions for the King. Their marriage had produced several children, whom the mother brought to be instructed in the Christian doctrine, finding them in great danger of following the religion of their father. I frequently talked to them of the grace of living and dying Catholic in order to be saved. I took particular pains to impress this salutary and constant truth upon their minds. So thoroughly had they comprehended it, that it seemed impossible for them to be shaken in it. They bore noble testimonies to it on occasions that afforded me high satisfaction, and came assiduously to divine service, confessed, and took the communion frequently with warm feelings of devotion.

In this way, they continued during the whole of our residence in London, after the restoration of the King, and the return of the Queen, his mother. I inquired concerning the state of these persons, whose charity had rendered them very dear to me, and with whom I had taken such pains. I learned, with astonishment and grief, that Monsieur the Chevalier was dead; that all his children had been won over to the Protestant religion in various ways; that Madame, their mother, who had continued Catholic, could not prevent this pernicious and lamentable change. I went to this good lady to confer with her on the means that we could take to withdraw the children from their errors, and to bring them back to the ways of salvation.

We knew that the eldest daughter was reputed to have a superior understanding; that she formerly manifested esteem and kindness for me; and that, being of an excellent disposition, heresy had not completely stifled those sentiments. Without showing that I

knew anything of her damnable fall, I purposed to call upon her, and, if the good God should so bless our conversations, that they should persuade her to forsake heresy and again embrace the true faith, the conversion of brothers and sisters would afterwards be easy.

In this resolution, I went to her house, after commending my enterprise to God. She received me politely, but not with the frankness and affection of past times. I inquired concerning the whole family, and how it had fared during the strange revolutions of the kingdom, since we left the country. We then turned to the subject of religion: she changed colour, began to blush, to tremble, and to say, what did it signify what religion one was of, provided that one led a regular moral life, that one took care to observe the commandments of God, and that the life of the Christian was governed by his ordinances? This answer, which did not surprise me, gave me occasion to reply that this language was not Catholic; that she had formerly learned a different doctrine, and that she had entertained other sentiments, which I had taught her in the Queen's chapel; that there is but one true Church through which one can attain eternal happiness; that one must live and die in it to be saved. Jesus Christ obliges all Christians, by an express ordinance, to listen to it; to believe and practise what it says; and pronounces a sentence of condemnation upon all who separate themselves from it, who refuse to hearken to it; whoever has not faith, does not believe, is already judged and even condemned by a sentence of present justice. The heathen, the publicans, have not the faith; they do not believe: in that separated state there is no salvation for them. Now, our Lord declares and protests that he who does not listen to the Church is like a heathen and a publican; and living in the impossibility of salvation so long as he continues in that wretched state. It is, therefore, a manifest error to believe that it does not signify of what religion

one is, provided that one leads a moral life, and that one may be saved in any religion.

The lady listened with attention to this little discourse, which was interrupted by the coming of some person to visit her. I left them together, and took leave of the company with some good hope, founded on the serious attention which the lady had paid to all that I had said. I went afterwards several times to her house, and, in all our conversations, I strove to impress her with that great truth, that it is impossible for any one who does not die in the faith of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church to attain salvation. Having nothing to urge against the strong reasons which I produced, she was touched by them. I saw her as if doubtful and humbled, considering what resolution she ought to take.

The French language was familiar to her: she spoke it naturally, took pleasure in speaking it and hearing it spoken; for which reason, instead of going to hear English Protestant sermons, her inclination led her to the Huguenot church in the Savoy, where the French meet, and where the minister preaches in French. There she was highly esteemed for having forsaken the Catholic religion; she was admired for her fine understanding, which had penetrated the clouds of Popery and detected its fallacies; every one applauded the change; every one, on seeing her enter the church, made her a low obeisance, and there was a particular place of distinction into which she was put. All this fed her vanity, flattered her pride, and contributed much to prevent her from leaving that false Church. It was a chain that must be broken before she could be withdrawn from it. Victorious grace produced that effect, recalling to the memory of this lady her first profession of the Catholic faith; the great fervour which she then manifested, the inward peace which she then possessed, the consolations which she enjoyed in the exercises of piety, the agitation and trouble in which she found herself ever since her change of reli-

gion, the great reverence and the holy ceremonies with which God was served in the Catholic churches, *the undevoutness and the nakedness* of Huguenot places of worship,¹ the miracles which divine power caused to be wrought from time to time in the Roman Catholic Church, the exemplary life of innumerable religious of both sexes, who have renounced the honours, riches, and pleasures of the world, in order to conform the more closely to the obedient, austere, and suffering life of Jesus Christ, who has set us an example, and requires us to imitate it; in the religious orders so many learned persons, who, in the dead of night, rouse up from their slumbers; rise with fervour, watch and devoutly sing the praises of God; who expose themselves to a thousand dangers by land and sea; who penetrate to the Indies, to the most distant parts, to convert the infidels; who are in continual submission to their superior; then deprived of that which is most prized by man, namely, his own will; and lastly, lead a life of great austerity and hardship: with the lights derived from their studies and their prayers, they would not remain in the Catholic Church if it were not the true one; and God would never permit them thus to suffer and to be harassed purely for his glory; he would not leave them in error; his goodness would be interested in it.

These reflections and others, which grace put into the heart of the lady, with abundance of tears, which sorrow for her past faults wrung from her eyes, snatched her from heresy, re-established her in the Catholic religion, and now she edifies all the Catholics by her zeal and her fervour.

Shortly before her happy conversion, I had attended Madame her mother when dying, administered the sacraments to her, and obtained leave from the Queen for her interment in our cemetery. This favour, conferred on the mother, contributed much to withdraw the daughter

¹ Father Cyprien always lays great stress on the ceremonies of the Protestant worship not being so grand as those of the Romish Church. At least, it may be said for the former, that their places of worship were not more *naked* than those of the Saviour and his Apostles.

from her errors, and to bring her back into the ways of salvation.

The famous Calvinist, Father Dumoulin, of Chacontan, and afterwards of Sedan, left many children, who are at present dispersed in various provinces and various kingdoms. I knew two of them in England; one is minister and canon of Canterbury; the other lives in London, and practises medicine, after occupying a professor's chair in the university of Oxford. The latter, named Louis Dumoulin, had a Catholic friend, to whom he strove to communicate the poison of heresy, which he had himself sucked in with his nurse's milk. He saw him frequently, and always solicited him to the damnable desertion of the Romish Church. Having a hundred times heard his father discourse on this vast subject, his memory was full of the false reasons which he had learned from his lips; and, having added others to them himself by means of his studies, and by reading Huguenot books, he was never barren on this point, and had always something new to say; so he greatly annoyed the ears and the mind of his friend, and made him waver a little in his faith, when the grace of Heaven caused him to say, that though, indeed, he had not passed his life in turning over books, still he had learned so much as to know that his was not a new faith, that it was that of his ancestors from time immemorial, from whom it had been handed down to him by tradition and a continuous succession, and that, if he chose to enter into conference on this subject, not having been himself brought up in the schools, he would request a friend of his, who had studied, to make amends for his deficiency. At the same time, he named Father Archange, of Beauvais, one of the Queen-Mother's Capuchins, and assured him that he would be very glad to confer with him.

Dumoulin, who did not expect this answer, expressed surprise at it, and could not, without disgrace, refuse so ready and so frank an offer. Distrust of his bad cause, and the slowness of his mind, induced him to consent to confer, not orally, but in writing; and, in order to comply with this promise, which he could not avoid ful-

filling without great injury to his reputation, after considering for a long time how he could back, with honour, out of the engagement, he wrote, that those of his party and those of the Popish party both thought themselves to be in the true religion; but, these two parties, believing totally opposite things, one of the two must necessarily be in error—which was it? Both pretended to keep far aloof from it; both pretended to follow truth: now, one must know, added Dumoulin, that religion follows this important truth, if it conforms to the Church of the first four centuries. Huguenot ingenuity had forged this most specious expedient in appearance, but in reality leading to no conclusion, till all the controverted points were first settled and decided by antiquity, which would require an unlimited time to render it necessary to turn over all the books of those first ages;¹ for, having shown, for example, that the Christians of those days believed the reality of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the holy Eucharist, having proved this great truth by the testimony of the first Fathers of the Church, it would afterwards be requisite to prove the august sacrifice of the mass, then the intercession of the Saints, and so of all the rest; and then, every proof being contested by the minister, who would have said that the passage ought not to be understood in that way—judge whether the expedient proposed by Dumoulin was a ready and convincing mode of settling the matter. Besides that, it had been so often discussed, concluded, and solidly proved by so many celebrated authors, particularly by the learned Secaret, in his answer to the King of Great Britain.

Great as was the shrewdness of the minister in making this proposition, no less sincerity and judgment were shown by Father Archange, of Beauvais, in answering him, that he did not reject his proposal and his demand; but, before proceeding to the execution, it was necessary to agree upon two points, without which none of the matters in dispute between them could be defini-

¹ There was only one book it was necessary to turn over: a Book, by the way, to which Père Cyprien never refers.

tively settled. The first was, whether that Church of the first four centuries was infallible; for, supposing that it could be, or that it actually was in error, it would not thence follow that one which should be conformable to it would be the true Church, since this conformity would render it a partaker in its errors.¹ The second position where it was requisite that they should come to an understanding was, respecting an umpire, capable of bringing the two parties to agree, touching the explanation of passages of the Holy Scriptures and of the Fathers of the Church, which they might adduce in proof of what was alleged; that is to say, that conformity with the ancient Church. Father Archange, of Beauvais, added that, when once agreed upon these two absolutely necessary points, each might then proceed steadily to the search after proofs of this presumed conformity.

The minister found himself embarrassed by this answer, which he did not expect. He took a long time to consider about it, and, in order to preserve the little reputation which he had acquired, and which he would have lost, if he had stopped there, he replied that the Church of the first four centuries was not infallible, and that there needed no other umpire for settling their differences but the Holy Scriptures. But Father Archange had already anticipated his reply, proving by evidence that the Church of the first four centuries, not being infallible, was liable to abide in error, to mingle a false creed with its true articles. This being the case, a Church which should conform to it would not follow the pure truth, and could not justly bear the title of the true Church of Jesus Christ. This reason was strong; so his adversary made no reply to it, nor to the necessity for an umpire to settle disputed matters. This could not be the Scripture, since each would explain it to his own advantage. There was necessarily required an infallible oracle, from which might be learned with assurance the true meaning of a contested passage;

¹ If the Church of the first four centuries was in error, the Church of a subsequent period was not likely to be less so. We should imagine, the nearer to the source of Christianity, the purer the stream.

otherwise, the dispute would continue endlessly and without leading to any conclusion. I know not what effect these reasons produced on the mind of M. Dumoulin, for his own salvation; but I know that, being convinced by their manifest truth, he ceased writing, and would no longer continue the conference, which rendered his Catholic friend immoveable in the faith. This man, who, seemed before to waver a little, was the more strongly confirmed in the belief of the Romish Church, in which he died. Dumoulin was reduced to a disgraceful silence by the force of truth, which rendered him unable to answer, and to withstand the reasons of the Capuchin, which he had rashly attacked.¹

This *victory* of Father Archange was followed by another. A certain Frenchman, son of a trader of Paris, an upright member of a celebrated religious order, finding his profession unprofitable, had assumed the secular habit, and gone to England. He stopped in London, a populous and wealthy city, where all sorts of sects are congregated. He was in intercourse with Anabaptists, who afforded him some assistance, and furnished him with the means of setting up in business, and introduced him to a young woman, whom he married, and so wrought upon his mind that they persuaded him to renounce the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, and to embrace the Anabaptist faith. Curiosity brought him afterwards to our church, and then into our garden, where he met with Father Archange, who received him very civilly, conversed with him on indifferent subjects, inquired if he had lived long in London, what motive had brought him thither, and what profession he followed. These *innocent questions*, put with a *winning kindness of manner*, and an *agreeable and respectful familiarity*, opened the heart of this man, who answered them all with perfect frankness and sincerity. He said that he had made trial of a religious life; that, his profession producing him nothing, he had left his monastery, without any design of forsaking the Catholic religion, in which he was bred; but that the Anabaptists,

¹ As usual, the good Father is a little intolerant.

whom he had fallen in with, had shown him very clearly, from the Holy Scriptures, that theirs is the true faith, which he had embraced, with the intention of passing the remainder of his life in it.

Father Archange was not at all surprised at this answer, manifested no coldness, met him with the same kindness of look and manner, and was rather pleased with his frankness. After speaking in terms of due praise of the Holy Scriptures, which were dictated by the Holy Spirit, which were the word of God, which, like God, were essential truth, into which lies and falsehood cannot enter, he began to show how important it is to understand them rightly, to comprehend their *true meaning*;¹ that the want of this knowledge had produced heresies; that all of them boast of being authorized by the Holy Scriptures. He afterwards proved to him the absurdity of the Anabaptist creed, and the truth of the Romish Church, by reasons so clear and so strong, that this man, sorry for having withdrawn from it to follow extravagant novelties, took leave of Father Archange, went home to his wife, related to her what had passed, stated the reasons by which his mind was convinced of the fallacy of the creed of the Anabaptists, and of the orthodoxy of that of the Roman Church, demonstrated both to her so convincingly, that she acquiesced in it, and afterwards came with her husband to Father Archange, from whom they received together the instructions necessary for confirming them strongly in the true faith, and for leading a Christian life. In this good disposition both of them renounced heresy, solemnly made their profession of faith and their sacramental confession. Having thus lived together for some time in great harmony, it pleased God to call to himself the wife, who departed from this world, cheered by the sacraments of the Church, with the signs of a predestined soul.

These conversions, next to God, are owing to the zeal of Father Archange, of Beauvais, who delivered every Sunday a solid but familiar controversial lecture,

¹ The good Father did not attempt to explain why this "true meaning" should be accessible only to one set of men.

in the church, from one till two o'clock. All profited there, both Catholics and Protestants; the former being better instructed and more confirmed in the true faith; the latter, opening their eyes to the truth, acknowledging their errors, humbly soliciting their reconciliation to the Catholic Church; so that we had daily agreeable occasions to raise Catholics who had fallen under the severity of persecutions; to set right schismatic persons, who, being secret and concealed Catholics, attended the Protestant service for the preservation of their property; to confer with all sorts of heretics, who were astonished to learn that our faith was so contrary to the account given of it by their ministers, who represented it as full of errors and blasphemies. I have made mention of the other services which we rendered to the Catholics in and out of the chapel, in the administration of the sacraments. Thus God was glorified, and religion received daily fresh accessions by the conversion of some, and by the spiritual advance of others.

The Queen was the cause of these great benefits; she was the *primum mobile* that impelled the whole machine; nothing was done but under her authority and protection. It were to be wished that her life had lasted a century. Divine Providence decreed otherwise, and sent her a lingering illness. God had given her a generous mind and a very delicate body. The terrible afflictions of which we have spoken, exercising her courage, had increased its vigour, but at the same time they had reduced the strength of her body. On her last return to England, encountering the rude air of the climate, after having long breathed that of France, which is much purer, she found herself seriously indisposed, and endured all her pains with great fortitude and resignation to the will of God.

One year, two years, three years, passed away in this suffering state, which, becoming worse, caused her to think of remedies. She recollected that the waters of Bourbon had always been of benefit to her, and felt some inclination now to go thither. The Catholics stopped her. Her presence was advantageous to the

service of their religion. Her malady urged her to this journey; zeal for the welfare of the Catholics opposed it: she wavered long irresolute. At length she bethought her that she might leave England for a time, and seek health in France, without detriment to the spiritual welfare of the Catholics, leaving her chapel open for service by eight Capuchins, in the same manner as if she were present. She mentioned this matter to the King, her son, who found no difficulty in permitting the chapel to be kept open; but a very great one in parting with so dear and virtuous a mother: however, her health being so precious, he gave his consent. So she resolved to depart, and commanded me to attend her, with another of her Capuchins, whom I should think fittest for this journey. I chose the Reverend Father Mathieu, of Auxerre, who had the honour of preaching before her for two Lents in London, with great satisfaction; and who could, on occasion, continue that practice in France; and, in fact, he did worthily acquit himself of this duty all the time that this great princess lived.

Shortly before her departure from London, our duty obliged us to go all together to learn her pleasure, and to receive her commands from her own lips. As God had endowed her with a shrewd and ready understanding and great fluency of speech, she made us immediately a fine address, in which she declared that her journey, with the grace of God, would not last long; that her chapel would be constantly open to the Catholics, French and English; that she should take with her Father Cyprien and Father Mathieu; that all the rest were to stay and to perform during her absence the same spiritual exercises which they practised in her presence; that it was necessary to labour for the assistance of Catholics, and for the conversion of heretics as they had been accustomed, that is to say, in such a manner that nothing should appear outwardly, so as not to afford any cause of complaint to the Protestant bishops and ministers, and to our enemies the Puritans; that if, during her stay in London, we had acted with

that prudent caution, we ought to observe it much more strictly in her absence. She added that those who went into the city, to administer the sacraments to the sick and to prisoners, ought so to conduct themselves that the Protestants who came to her chapel, and who knew us, might be edified; and that, for the rest, she had no need to recommend herself to our prayers, being sure that the affection and zeal which we had for her service would not allow us to forget her.

She left London, accompanied by the King and Queen, and the gentlemen and ladies of her court, who embarked with her. Having proceeded about fifteen leagues out to sea, it became necessary at length to part, and to bid one another farewell, which, without being aware of it, was for the last time in her life; and so, perhaps, without any particular feeling of sorrow. The King returned to London, the Queen proceeded without accident to Calais, and from Calais to her *château* at Colombe, whither their Majesties, Monsieur, Madame, and the whole court of France repaired to pay their respects to her. As it frequently happens that one gains when the other loses, if the court of England was grieved at the departure of this most amiable princess, the court of France, and particularly Monsieur and Madame of Orleans, manifested inexpressible joy at her happy return.

She passed the summer very agreeably at Colombe, and the winter in Paris, at the magnificent Hôtel de la Basinière, which the King gave her for her residence.

When she left London, the plague was commencing there: it increased to such a degree that, in a single week, it carried off four or five thousand persons. This caused the Queen to think of shutting up her chapel, that this contagious disease might not spread further by the intermixture and communication of healthy and infected persons, who should come to divine service. She mentioned this matter to me, but without coming to any resolution. I wrote on the subject to our Fathers in London. Filled with zeal and fervour, they begged me to work upon the Queen to

obtain from her goodness permission for the doors of her chapel to continue open as usual, notwithstanding the plague, to all the Catholics, that they might thus enjoy the benefit of the sacraments, and not be left destitute of spiritual assistance when they most needed it. I proposed this to the Queen: her piety led her to deem it so reasonable that she would rather suffer her palace to be infected than that one Catholic should die without confession and viaticum.

Accordingly, orders were given that the chapel should be kept open, and that the Catholics should be at liberty to frequent it in the time of the plague just as when there was none. That contagious disease, which threatened all, obliged every one to be upon his guard, to think seriously of his soul, to redouble his fervour, and to be more assiduous in attendance on divine service: of course, the chapel was more frequented than ever. Amidst this great concourse of people, several who were seized with the plague met, confessed, and innocently imparted corporeal death to the priest from whom they received spiritual life by absolution of their sins and the infusion of grace.

Of the eight Capuchins who were left in London at the departure of the Queen mother, two caught the disease in that manner: these were the most Venerable Fathers François of Abvile [Abbeville], and Apolinaire of Paris. An ardent zeal for the salvation of souls kept them almost incessantly engaged in exercises of charity, sometimes hearing confessions, at others carrying the sacraments to the sick, at others again conferring upon religion with heretics. This same zeal led them to beg me to use my solicitations with the Queen to forego her purpose of preventing this great misfortune for the Catholics—the shutting up of her chapel—desiring still to continue their attendance on them. They were fully aware that, in the service which they should render them, they would endanger their own lives, but they deemed it a great favour to follow Jesus Christ, their master, and, in imitation of him, to die for the salvation of their fellow-creatures. In fact, it was,

while confessing infected persons, that both of them, one after the other, took the disease, which deprived them of this miserable earthly life, to give them a happy one in heaven.

Father Charles François had received an excellent education before he entered our Order. He afterwards continued his studies with great assiduity. It is true that, having embraced a religious life, that he might meet with the fewer obstacles to virtue, and the better to advance himself in Christian perfection, he spent the greater part of his time in this employment. That which was left him was so devoted to study that he wasted none on useless things. By these means, he acquired extraordinary skill in polemics and in cases of conscience. These two things were of wonderful service to him in the mission; the one for the conversion of Huguenots, in the conferences which he had with them, the other for the direction of souls in confession.

The most Venerable Father Apolinaire of Paris was endowed with so many excellent qualities, that Nature seemed to have been stingy in giving him so small a body, that she might be the more prodigal in adorning him with many other valuable advantages to compensate that innocent defect. He had a sweet temper, respectful, courteous, agreeable to every one. He liked to employ himself upon the little conveniences of convents, and was so clever in all sorts of mechanical arts that you would have thought he had served an apprenticeship to them before he embraced a religious life. His piety and his skill were extraordinary in the decoration of churches, and in the ornaments of altars, keeping up at the same time that poverty which is essential to us. His ingenuity and skill gave them a beauty and a lustre which others scarcely have with gold, diamonds, and other rich materials. His cleverness in all things induced our Reverend Fathers to give him the office of Warden, which greatly shocked his feelings, and which he nevertheless accepted, from a spirit of submission. In this office he behaved so well that he equalled the prudence and the wisest government of

old superiors; and so he would ever have continued, if his great humility had not forbidden it, being forcibly and perseveringly desirous to obey and not to command.

The King of England, Charles II., being happily replaced on his throne, employed his affectionate solicitations, and the humble intreaties of the gentlemen of his court, to prevail upon the Queen, his mother, to resolve to return to England, and to pass the rest of her life there. Father Apolinaire was then our companion with her Majesty; after the death of the most Venerable Father Lambert, of Fliscourt, we had lived some years together in the Palais Royal. Two things in him were very praiseworthy, namely, great diffidence of himself, and entire submission to his superiors. This diffidence dissuaded him from going to England, on the specious pretext that he should there have to perform the duties of the mission, that it was a downright heretic country, and that he had not the qualifications requisite for a good missionary. This notion he retained for some time, till Father Charles, of Abville, who then governed the province in the absence of the Reverend Father Provincial, intimated to him that he believed him to be called by God to that mission; that the way to succeed was to continue to cherish that feeling of diffidence of himself and of the capacity of his own strength, but, without brooding too much over that diffidence, to turn to God, to put his trust in his goodness in all that concerned his glory, and to await with great faith the succour of his mercy and of his power. Father Apolinaire received this advice from the lips of his Superior as coming from God. He deliberated no longer about going to England; all his scruples vanished, his depressed courage was raised, cheerfulness appeared in his countenance, and thus disposed him to set out; the virtue of religion, which he eminently possessed, impelled him, as I have said, to the decoration of churches, wherefore, when in London, he was charged to keep the Queen's chapel always duly adorned. To this pious duty he applied himself with great diligence, and exercised all his skill in order to increase the splendour and

the majesty of the altar, in order to honour Jesus Christ, who dwells there in the adorable sacrament of the Eucharist, to raise the devotion of the Catholics, and to win for the Church such Protestants as came to see those rare pieces of workmanship, and thus afforded us opportunities of speaking to them, and of representing to them the falsehood of their religion and the truth of ours.

All the pensions of the Queen, for the subsistence and wages of her people, being stopped on the blockade of Paris, she was obliged to sell her jewels and the plate of her chapel. On returning to England, she accepted from Madame the Duchess d'Aiguillon that of the late M. le Cardinal de Richelieu, which was very rich, very splendid, very magnificent. Being placed upon the altar, and ranged with the other ornaments by the skill and ingenuity of Father Apolinaire, it was a ravishing sight to the eyes, a subject of high admiration to the mind, and *a strong incitement to devotion of heart!*¹ According to the difference of seasons and festivals, the altar was dressed in so many different ways, that there was always *some clever and pleasing novelty* to admire, through the inventive ingenuity of this industrious Father. Seeing the most Venerable Father Charles François, of Abville, whose confessor he was, attacked and carried off, he was deeply affected, and soon afterwards felt himself seized by the same malady, which, in a short time, removed him from this world, to place him, as we may well believe, for ever in heaven. The Queen, who was fond of him, manifested great sorrow for his death.

In order that her Majesty's chapel might always have a sufficient number of priests to officiate in it, and that the Catholics might not be deprived of the assistance necessary for their salvation, she desired that other Capuchins of the Province of Paris might go and fill the places of the deceased. The Reverend Fathers Superiors sent thither the most Venerable Fathers Robert Bourlon, Mathieu of St. Quentin, and Antoine of Quimper, all three zealous preachers, who laboured

¹ We were not aware that there was so much virtue in plate.

with great fervour in the duties of the mission, administering the sacraments to Catholics, converting Huguenots, and rescuing from apostacy several persons whom debauchery had induced to leave France for England. The Reverend Father Robert Bourlon endured with firmness the violent assaults of several enemies of religion and of Christian piety; and, by his arguments, his perseverance, and his dexterity, he fixed those whose good graces he won, and who, giving themselves up to a false creed and to false persuasions, were on the brink of a precipice. The indisposition of the Queen diverted him from learning the English language, which would have been very useful. After the decease of her Majesty, his chief employment was with the French, many of whom profited by his conversations, some to advance to Christian perfection, others to escape from heresy, into which adversity had thrown them. I know two who are under the greatest obligations to him in this respect; they are two persons of quality, who had been to see England, and whom the pernicious conversation of zealous Calvinists had perverted. Father Robert found means to speak to them, and so convinced them by his reasons, that they admitted their errors, renounced their heresy, and returned penitent to the arms of their mother, the Holy Church.

Before obedience sent the Reverend Father Mathieu, of St. Quentin, to England, he had written a controversial book, which gained him great reputation. He had acquired still more by his modesty, by his fervour, and by his other virtues, which induced M. Colbert, the ambassador of the King of France, to choose him in London for his confessor. He gained many ladies for God, by several conferences on the subject of religion: this became talked of. It happened fortunately for a young Frenchman, of fine understanding, of Huguenot parents, who had received an excellent education, and was well versed in controversy, which he had more particularly studied, as he intended soon to be a minister; and the pride which always accompanies heresy had given him a high idea of himself, and a strong desire to

exhibit his ability on the first favourable occasion. He considered the title of the Queen's Capuchin as the mark of an illustrious antagonist, over whom a victory would be very glorious. Under this idea, he entered into conversation with the Father, and, after some indifferent discourse, he advanced an heretical proposition, which the Capuchin immediately laid hold of, and refuted so solidly, as to throw confusion upon him whose presumption promised him triumphs. The Huguenot being forced in this post, entrenched himself in another, in which he was not more fortunate, for he had to do with a generous and experienced warrior. At length, finding himself incapable of resisting, he did as the governors of besieged towns do, who, when they can no longer defend themselves, desire to capitulate. He said that he should confer better another time on these debated points. After a few slight skirmishes, he surrendered, and confessed the truth, which the spirit of pride refused to acknowledge in good company. He resolved to renounce Calvinism, to embrace the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman religion, and to make a public profession of it, which he did with great courage and joy, because the grace of the Holy Ghost, and the instructions which he had received, had rendered him more humble. He is now a worthy ecclesiastic, full of fervour.

The Reverend Father Antoine, of Quimper, is not only a friar of exemplary character and ability, like the other missionaries, but he has also the wonderful facility of speaking six or seven different languages, of which he has very usefully availed himself in various places, particularly in the city of London, which commerce renders very famous, and where you meet with people of all nations and all religions. The Catholic merchants, the French, Spanish, Flemish, and German, were very glad to converse with a Capuchin who understood and spoke their language, to submit to him difficulties of conscience, to ask his opinion, to lay before him their sins in the tribunal of penitence, and to receive absolution of them. As for the professors of other religions,

though he was extremely averse to their false creeds, nevertheless, speaking their language, he found ready access to them. His serene countenance, his modesty, seasoned with cheerfulness, imperceptibly gained the good-will of those with whom he conversed. From one topic to another, he skilfully led them to the subject of religion; explained to them, with great anxiety for their salvation, that the religion which they professed was not the true one; that they must be incorporated into the Romish Church, and die in its faith, to find a place in heaven. Proceeding thus with mildness and love, he won many for God, even in the presence of the ministers with whom he often had disputations, and always with success. Having orders to note the persons whom, by the grace of God, he converted to the faith, and received into the Church, I find thirty-five on his list. He has given, on many occasions, noble testimonies of his zeal and his abilities. I shall notice only the following trait, which is ingenious.

An English gentleman, brought up in the Protestant religion, being in France, was happily, and very secretly, converted to the Catholic church. On leaving Paris, to return to England, he was addressed to me by Father Ange, of Raconiès, a Capuchin, whom he had met with. As it was of great importance to his fortune, and to the preservation of his property, that it should not be known that he was a Catholic, he covered the principal exercises of religion with the darkness of night. He came to me very early in the morning, before it was light, to confess and communicate, in a very secret place, where he could not be perceived. A long time passed in this manner. The Queen-mother having come to France for the benefit of her health, as I was obliged to attend her, during my absence, he had recourse to Father Antoine, of Quimper. He admired his understanding, took great pleasure in his conversation, and, to enjoy it the longer, he begged him to accompany him in a journey which he had to take into the country. His influence was too great, and his request too reasonable, not to be complied with. Having, therefore, the Father in

his house, he told him that a niece of his, a Protestant, was committed to his care, upon promise that he would not suffer a change of religion to be talked of to her; that he had agreed to this fatal condition, the violation of which would be productive of very great inconveniences to himself and to several other Catholics. He, therefore, begged him not to speak to her on the subject, saying, that God had his intentions with her, and would convert her at the time ordained by his Providence. This intimation surprised Father Antoine, and did some violence to his zeal, which eagerly sought occasions to gain souls for God. He was sorry to lose one whom he thought a fit subject; but the order was too explicit to act contrary to it. He was obliged, therefore, to make up his mind to a gloomy silence. As, however, love is ingenious, he considered whether there was not some method of satisfying the gentleman by saying nothing to the young lady, and of endeavouring to gain her *by some other way*. After he had long turned this idea in his mind, he bethought him of the following expedient. He wrote a letter, addressed to a minister, to whom he proved by clear and solid reasons that the Protestant religion is false; that it is impossible to be saved in its faith; that the Romish Church alone is the true Church; and that, out of its communion, there is no salvation. Having folded this letter, without sealing it, he dropped it in a place to which the young Protestant lady was to come presently. She picked it up, read it several times, and, having a good understanding, she was so enlightened and touched by it, that she determined to turn Catholic, and nobody could divert her from that holy resolution.

The most Venerable Father Basile, of Soissons, knowing that Madame Hamilton, married to^e the Earl of Selkirk, was not particularly attached to the Protestant religion, found means to speak to her, and to have several conferences with her, which, at length, caused her to resolve to embrace the Catholic religion, to pass over to France, and to go to Soissons, where she received absolution from heresy, and was solemnly

reconciled to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church, by Monseigneur the Bishop of Soissons, who begged Madame the Abbess of Nôtre Dame to receive her for a time into her royal monastery, in order to confirm her in the true faith, and show her the practices of solid devotion, and the pious exercises of her nuns. After a stay of five or six weeks at this place, she came to Paris, to pay her respects to Madame the Duchess of Orleans, who received her very civilly, and gave her handsome apartments in the Palais Royal, whither I was summoned, to explain to her the mysteries of our religion, and to receive her sacramental confession, which I did several times, and had occasion to converse with Monsieur the Earl, her husband, who showed no displeasure at her conversion to the Catholic faith; so he is a prudent, moderate, sensible gentleman, susceptible of reason, and of a sweet temper. I left him in very good sentiments, which God will bless, if he pleases, and render instrumental to his salvation.

We have, at last, arrived at the end of those conversions, at the conclusion of that great progress of the Catholic religion, and at the last period of this mission, which, through the grace of God, has produced such happy effects in England. What is common to all the things of this earth, which have their beginning and their end, could not fail to happen to this mission. All its foundation and its support was the service of the Queen; it was permitted on her account alone; this was the only cause that gave it subsistence, and, that cause being taken away, the mission must necessarily be at an end; as the life of the Queen kept it alive, so her decease was death to it.

It was the intention of that zealous princess to return to England, as we have said, for the preservation and the promotion of the Catholic religion. Heaven, satisfied with these pious wishes, prevented their fulfilment, decreeing that France should be the theatre of her death, and that her life should not extend beyond the year 1669. All the time that she passed in France, after her last return to England, she was continually

subject to fainting-fits, sleeplessness, and other bodily ailments. The waters of Bourbon, which she went to drink every year, afforded a temporary mitigation of her complaints, but did not take them away; nay, at last, finding these more inveterate and obstinate, they produced neither diminution nor relief. This generous Queen was not dejected on this account; she uttered no complaints, no repinings, showed none of those ill tempers which are common with ailing women. With the blood of the great Henry, she had inherited a courage that was never to be cast down by difficulties, which disguised the sharpness and severity of her pains, and which caused her fine face to exhibit an agreeable serenity, and a majestic cheerfulness, as if she had enjoyed perfect health. I have frequently heard her say, that complaints in illness were useless, or, if they served for anything, it was to show the great weakness and the little resolution of the persons who complained. She laughed at those ladies who scream, who weep, who lament, about a touch of headache or toothache, as if it was all over with them.

Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans, and Madame, his wife, who were deeply interested in her health, begged her to permit the most eminent physicians of Paris to hold, in her Majesty's presence, a consultation upon her complaint. She consented; and at the same time M. Vallot, first physician to the King, M. Esprit, first physician to Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans, and M. Ivelin, first physician to Madame, repaired to the *château de Colombe*, agreeably to the orders which they had received, and there, conjointly with M. Duquin, first physician to the Queen, they paid their respects to her Majesty, and inquired concerning her complaint. She explained to them, and told them all the symptoms and circumstances with such clearness, that she left M. Duquin, her physician in ordinary, nothing to add but his mode of treatment, and the medicines which he had employed for the cure of the disorder. M. Vallot approved of everything, and, in discourse afterwards, said, that, by the grace of God, the disorder did not threaten

any danger which was to be dreaded; that the ailments of the Queen were painful, but without danger of death; that, to the remedies which M. Duquin had employed, he should merely add three grains¹ (*grains*), which would remove the sleeplessness of her Majesty, and contribute greatly to her health. The Queen, hearing grains mentioned, declared positively that she would not take them, as she found by experience that they disagreed with her, and that the famous English physician, M. de Mayerne, had warned her never to take any. M. de Vallot answered with great respect, that the grains which he proposed to give were of a particular composition, and that he would not have been so ill advised as to propose them, had he not known to a certainty that they would be conducive to her health; he begged her Majesty to be thoroughly persuaded of that, and said that he well knew how precious her life was, and how much it behoved them to employ none but sure remedies for its preservation; and that, if he acted otherwise, he should be the greatest criminal in the world. These words made some impression on the mind of the Queen, who asked the opinion of the other physicians. All of them coincided in that of Monsieur Vallot. M. Ivelin, who spoke last, said, with great moderation and prudence, that he knew not the composition of those grains, but he had such an esteem for M. Vallot, that he reputed him to be so able and so excellent a man that he would not give her Majesty anything whatever, if he did not know to a certainty that it was proper and salutary for her.

I was present at this illustrious and fatal consultation, the result of which was that the Queen took the grains at eleven o'clock at night. She submitted with difficulty, her great courage triumphing over the repugnance that she felt for them. She kept very regular hours; that for supper having arrived, she sat down to table, ate heartily, amused herself agreeably after her repast, laughing as if nothing ailed her. She had previously put all her affairs in order, provided for the

¹ Probably that portion of an opiate, or that number of pills.

payment of her household, and arranged with the King, her son, that, when God should call her from the world, all the persons then in her service should be paid their usual wages and recompensed by the payment of two years beyond: of this she had assured her confessor, with whom she had on that day had long spiritual conversations, in order to prepare herself for the communion, which she designed to take the next day, not having been able to do so on the preceding, which was the festival of the nativity of the most blessed Virgin.

But, O God, how inscrutable are thy judgments! Thou didst infuse these good sentiments into that pious Queen, thy servant; thou didst produce in her those holy resolutions; though didst inspire her with that desire to communicate, and, without willing the effect, thou wast satisfied with this desire; thy Providence made use of the fatal consultation of physicians to remove her from us, changing her earthly kingdom (as it is to be presumed) for an empire in heaven. Death, which, in the opinion of Aristotle, holds the first rank among terrible things, was dreadful in her eyes: though she never represented it to herself as any other than far distant, still the bare idea of it made her shudder; so she did not like any one to talk of that doleful subject. She often said to me, that it behoved us to prepare well for it, by purity of life and frequently taking the sacrament, by the performance of good works, and not by talking so much.

In these holy dispositions, O adorable Providence, thou didst permit her to fall into a temporal slumber, in which death threw her into an everlasting one, to translate her from this world to the other, without her perceiving it, as if she were perfectly ready, as if there were not an hour of the day that she had destined to some particular employment, to rouse her to vocal, to mental prayer, the mass, meals, company, recreations, business, all which had different hours allotted to them. Bed-time having arrived, she lay down to rest, and slept soundly, till the lady, who lay in the same chamber, woke her to take the fatal medicine prescribed for

her by the physicians—those luckless grains, which robbed her of speech and life; for, from the moment she took them, she never spoke. The lady left her for some time without saying anything to her after that murderous dose; then she asked her how she felt, whether she wanted anything, and, receiving no answer, she raised her voice, and repeated the question several times in a still louder tone, to make her hear; but having, instead of words, nothing but sighs, oppressions of the chest, palpitations of the heart, she quickly sent the valets de chambre, who were at hand, to inform the priests and the physicians of the circumstance. We were among the first that came, and the priests presently followed, and then the confessor. Each spoke to her: the physicians, having felt her pulse, asked her several questions respecting her complaint; the priests exhorted her to contrition for her sins, to the love of God, and to confidence in his mercy, besought her to give some sign that she understood us, but she replied only by a mortal silence. Some of the physicians attributed it to certain vapours which had ascended to the brain, which could not last long, and which, when dispelled, would leave the patient capable of speaking. I believed them at first; and then, seeing that there was no abatement of her malady, I urged the confessor to cause extreme unction to be administered. He left the duty to me, and I immediately apprized M. the Curé of Colombe, who came in haste, and administered that sacrament; and, when provided with it, she, without violence, without the slightest convulsion, with great serenity, and a sweet expression of countenance, rendered up her soul to God. A gentleman went off immediately for St. Germain en Laye, where the court of France then was, to acquaint the King, Queen, Monsieur and Madame d' Orleans, with the lamentable tidings, which affected them so deeply that they could not repress their tears.

Thus it will be seen that this great Queen had acquired an empire, as it were, over hearts. Her excellent qualities, her piety, her cheerful temper, her virtue

of doing good, and of not offending any one, and the gift of speaking well, rendered her amiable to everybody. The King regarded her not only as his dearest aunt, but still more as the bond of union and peace between France and England. Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans, being convinced of her rare prudence and her great affection, communicated his affairs to her with perfect confidence, and retained for her the sentiments and affection which he should have entertained for his own mother. My pen would strive in vain to express here the violent grief of Madame d' Orleans, his wife, the great love which she bore to a mother, so tender, so virtuous, so loving, and so beloved; and all that we have related on this subject in these Memoirs will furnish a much better idea of the keenness of her sorrows than anything that my pen can write.

M. Vallot, who had so strongly urged the Queen to take those unlucky grains, was loudly blamed for it. The esteem which he had acquired at court for his medicine suffered a great diminution. The servants of the deceased shouted after him, that he had deprived them of their dearest mistress. It was thought that, after so fatal an accident, he could not maintain his ground in the city, honourable and important as was the post of first physician to the King; but he found friends, who talked of it to his Majesty, who told him that their opinion of the death of the Queen was, that she had a complaint which rendered it impossible for her to live any longer; that the grains which she had taken were not by any means the cause of her death, for they had restored health to several other patients; that M. Vallot had experienced in his own person the salutary virtue of this medicine, using it when he was himself ill, and by its means recovered health; that, after so much experience, he had had reason to prevail on the Queen to take some of these grains. This speech made an impression on the mind of the King, whose goodness consented that M. Vallot should continue in his ordinary service. It was not for any long time; for, in a few months, he fell into a dangerous illness, from which his

grains could not rescue him, or prevent his leaving the court and life to enter a tomb.

Though the house of Colombe was to the Queen as a monastery, and her cabinet as a cell, which she frequently entered to commune more quietly and more intimately with God; nevertheless, to animate herself still more for his service, she often visited the convents of nuns; and, to advance herself still more in virtue by the example of others, she several times stayed there for several weeks. She retired, for three whole months, to the monastery of the Carmelites, in the Faubourg St. Jacques; afterwards the nuns of St. François de Sales, desiring to settle at Chaillot, near Paris, and to change into a house of prayer a palace which had opened to earthly pleasure only, this pious princess supported them with her authority and her means; she bought in her name the palace and the lands belonging to it. Generously surmounting the great difficulties which the Devil raised up in this business, she put the nuns in quiet possession of that house, of which she became the foundress, and she reserved for herself apartments to which to retire at certain times. There she usually passed Advent, Passion Week, the feasts of Easter and Whitsuntide, the octave of the Holy Sacrament, and the feasts of the most Blessed Virgin; never thinking herself so near to her end. Some years before her death, she had resolved to recompense all her household, and to pass the rest of her life in this place of solitude and retirement. The virtues and the holy exercises of the nuns had so attached her to it, that she could have wished to lie there even after death; but, foreseeing that her rank of Queen and of Fille de France would be a bar to the interment of her body there, she determined at least to give her heart to this place. According to her intention, a few days after her decease her body was opened, and that truly Christian and royal heart was solemnly carried to the nuns of Chaillot.

There was nobody who knew the noble and rare qualities of this great Queen, but lamented her decease. France and England were long in extraordinary mourn-

ing for her. England, struck with a horrible blindness, had formerly most unjustly banished her, persecuted her, and fired cannon at the vessel which she was on board of: but now, the whole kingdom, penitent for its abominable crime, convinced of the virtues of her whose destruction it had before sought, with such injustice, could not hear of her unexpected death without melting into tears, manifesting sorrow in all sorts of doleful ways, and transmitting to posterity an everlasting memorial of her in elegies and other mournful pieces, and in Latin and English graces, in such quantity, that, if they were all collected, they would form a whole volume.

France, to which the memory of the Great Henry is so precious, which did not regard this death as merely that of the Queen of England, but as the end of the children of that worthy monarch, as a *Fille de France*, mild, familiar, obliging, doing good to every one—in short, endowed with all the excellent qualities that are capable of winning the heart—in France, her obsequies were solemnized at St. Denis, with a pomp as splendid and royal as it was religious. The piety of the King of France, nephew of the deceased, took upon itself the whole expense, and appointed Mr. the Bishop of Amiens, one of the most eloquent prelates of the age, to deliver the funeral discourse of that august service.

Madame the Duchess of Orleans, daughter of that Queen, grateful for the obligations which she owed to so dear and so worthy a mother, had another very celebrated service performed for her in the chapel of Chaillot, where M. Bossuet, bishop of Condon, nobly set forth the heroic virtues of that Queen in the funeral discourse which he delivered to the marvellous satisfaction of his whole audience. In the following year, on the anniversary, these solemnities were renewed; when the Reverend Father Mathieu, of Auxerre, Capuchin preacher, attested in a rich discourse the extraordinary merits of her august Majesty. Though Msgrs. the Prelates had related wonders of her in their harangues of the preceding year, still they had not so completely exhausted this royal subject, as not to leave very rare

and very excellent particulars to be added from his own knowledge by this Father, having had the honour of being for several years preacher to her Majesty, and belonging to the spiritual household of that great Queen; and he published, with not less eloquence than truth, the respectful and grateful acknowledgments paid to the lamented memory of the deceased, who had so highly honoured them with her affection.

The English manifested the great sorrow which they felt for her unfortunate decease, not only by a general consternation throughout the kingdom, but by all sorts of doleful pieces, composed in various languages.

Such were the revolutions of one of the greatest Queens that ever lived; such her life, her death, her obsequies, the end of the noblest and the most useful of our missions, which, established and subsisting only by authority of that royal princess, dropped with her into the tomb. It is true, as I have remarked at the commencement of these Memoirs, that, before her marriage, some French and English Capuchins performed the duties of the mission in England and Scotland, but it was very secretly, in disguise, going out at night to be less noticed, and to avoid being taken up as guilty of high treason, for which the quality of priest would render them liable to a most cruel death, according to the iniquitous laws of that kingdom. The French Capuchins were not then in that great peril; they acted with freedom in the chapel of the French ambassador, not clandestinely, but without any parade. The humility of our former Fathers, who wished to leave to God alone the knowledge of their good actions and the care of transmitting them to posterity, has left us in ignorance of many memorable things, which would now conduce greatly to our edification; so, having been particularly acquainted with only two missionaries of that time, it will be about them alone that I shall here set down what I learned as well from their own accounts as from other testimonies concerning those faithful persons.

The illustrious birth, the excellent judgment, the

great prudence, and the other noble qualities of the Count de Tillières, having induced Louis XIII. to chuse him for his ordinary ambassador to his Britannic Majesty, who was then James, the first of that name, that nobleman, who particularly honoured the Capuchins with his affection, applied for two of them, for the guidance of his conscience and that of his household, to be the directors of his chapel and his preachers. To acquit themselves duly of this office, it was not sufficient to possess great virtue, and a talent for preaching: it was requisite to be versed in polemics, and to know how to treat skilfully with the Huguenots. Father Ange de Raconiès was endowed with those superior qualities; our Fathers, therefore, selected him, and gave him, with another Capuchin, to that ambassador. After his return, I had the good fortune to be associated with him for carrying on the mission, particularly against the Huguenots of La Brie, where he had many relations infected with the heresy of Calvin; so the journeys and the conversations that we had together made me intimately acquainted with him. He was of a noble family, a man of fervent zeal and eminent piety after his conversion; for, in his youth, he had followed the errors of Calvin, with which his relations were infected. Heresy, encouraged by the Devil, had made such progress in France, and had become so powerful and so cruel, that King Henry III., who then reigned, *found himself obliged, in order to preserve his kingdom, to permit a sanguinary action, called to this day the St. Bartholomew.*¹ To escape this terrible storm, many retired to foreign countries, whence the orthodox faith was already banished, having renounced the Romish Church, to follow the wild notions of some deluded minds, such as several places in Germany, whither M. de Raconiès removed with all his family. Seeing

¹ The historical reader need scarcely be reminded that the sovereign, who not merely permitted but planned and assisted in performing that *sanguinary* action—certainly the most sanguinary that Christendom ever witnessed—was not Henry III., but his brother Charles IX.; and that this *sanguinary* act was instigated by the Pope, and his fiendlike mother, Catherine de Medicis; and highly applauded by that detestable bigot, Philip II. of Spain.

that his young son, whom we now call Father Ange, was strongly awakened, and had a superior understanding, he placed him in Huguenot schools, and was delighted to hear that he made great progress there, and that he surpassed all his companions: and, as science puffs up, if it is not tempered by humility, which this scholar had not, he conceived so high an idea of himself that he sought occasions for engaging in disputation with the most eminent doctors of the Romish Church, his vanity and presumption promising him triumphs. In this assurance, having finished his studies, and the affairs of religion being more tranquil in France, he came to Paris, for the purpose of conferring with the doctors, and to oblige them, by the force of his arguments, to embrace his opinions. Accordingly, he had several conferences with them, the success of which was contrary to his hopes; for, instead of perverting the others, as he expected, he was himself completely converted to the Catholic religion. The conversations of these learned persons enabled him to perceive that his reasons were very ill founded; that the religion of Calvin was but a sect, which had nothing less to support it than the Word of God; that the Holy Scriptures, Divine tradition, the holy Fathers, antiquity, rendered this truth indubitable that the Romish Church is the Church of Jesus Christ, the sole true Church, out of which there is no salvation. The proofs which those doctors gave him of this were so solid and so powerful, that the mind of the young Huguenot was convinced. Nevertheless, as obstinacy is the characteristic of heresy, and as it is hard to wrench all at once from the heart what education has planted there, he did not at first acquiesce in these reasons, solid as they were, continued the disputations, gave some weak answers, made some replies; but the brave defenders of the truth proved to him that the answers and the replies were frivolous, and confirmed so clearly and so solidly all they had advanced on the subject of religion, that the aggressor, having nothing more to say, signified, by a movement of grace, that he had hitherto lived in error, that the

reformation of Calvin was but a pernicious deformity, that his Church had but the name; that, in fact, it was an absolute sect; that those who followed it were in error, that the Romish Church was the only universal, apostolic, and true Church of Jesus Christ, into which he humbly begged to be received. His application greatly rejoiced our doctors, who immediately began to instruct him in our whole creed, in our mysteries, in our ceremonies, in the sacrament of penance, in the manner of confessing and communicating properly; and, by the permission and authority which they obtained from Mr. the Cardinal de Gondy, then Bishop of Paris, they publicly gave him absolution from heresy, and incorporated him with the Church, in which, after appearing thrice at the tribunal of penance, he confessed all his sins with great contrition, and received absolution. Purified, deeply humbled, and animated with a lively faith and an ardent love, he approached with great reverence the Holy Table, and gave great edification to all those who saw him communicate with such devotion, strictly following the guidance of his confessor. He endeared himself particularly in those two sacraments, penance and the Eucharist.

In order to receive them every month with more profit, he renewed and increased, by still greater fervours, his first preparations; by these means, he made very considerable progress in perfection in the space of the two or three years that he remained in the world. For, after seeing the great danger of being lost, impelled by strong graces, he resolved to leave it, and to enter into the religious state, where his salvation would be in less peril; and because, among all the Orders, that of the Capuchins appeared to him to be most detached from worldly things, most apostolic, he solicited with humility and earnestness to be admitted into it. After several applications on his part, and several refusals given by our Fathers, to put his vocation to the test, they at length found that it was from God. He was admitted, and clothed in the sacred habit of Capuchin. During the whole time of his noviciate, he manifested a perfectly

contented mind, great courage, ardent zeal, and extraordinary fervours, which spoke in his favour, and urged the Fathers and the Friars to give their votes for his profession: he made it with many remarkable sentiments of devotion. Living afterwards in great seclusion from all worldly matters, he strove continually to advance himself to perfection, in order to render himself a true son of the Seraphic Father St. Francis, and to become, by this means, more pleasing unto God.

In this manner, he spent three years, after which, though he had studied much in the secular state, though his fine understanding, his great assiduity, and his application to books would have rendered him learned, nevertheless, to purify his knowledge, derived from a bad source, to separate from it the worthless, and to leave only the valuable, to add to it sciences of assured worth and perfectly holy, our Fathers thought it right to set him about the study of theology, to which he gave himself up, and in which he made himself such an adept, that he never relaxed in the least in his first fervours and in his ardent devotion; on which account he was by obedience promoted to holy orders, and afterwards to the office of preacher and apostolic missionary.

Having happily disengaged himself from the errors which education had instilled into his mind, he wished, with vehement desire, to withdraw from them all those whom the misfortune of their birth, or a dissolute life, had plunged into them. To this object he directed his prayers, his efforts, and his studies. I have often seen him deplore the infatuation and the ruin of those misguided people: gladly would he have given his blood to gain them for Jesus Christ, by making them children of the true Church. His great zeal on this point caused him to resemble the great St. Paul, who wished to be accursed for his brethren, obstinately attached to Judaism; Madame, his mother, being dead, Monsieur, his father, took for his second wife a lady named Rachel, whose beauty was not inferior to that of her for the love of whom a servitude of seventeen years seemed a very

short time to the patriarch Jacob; but, if this exquisite beauty imparted great splendour to her body, heresy gave great deformity to her soul, for she surpassed all others in obstinacy. She had a daughter, over whom she watched with the greater care, because, knowing her to be extremely docile, she apprehended lest the conversations with her brother the Capuchin might induce her to embrace the Catholic faith, which actually did happen. All the efforts of man are of no avail against the design of God; great as was the care of this mother, it could not prevent her daughter from stealing out of her sight, and talking in secret with Father Ange, who represented to her the falseness of the sect of Calvin and the truth of the Catholic Church, and who gave her proofs of this so clear and so forcible that she resolved to embrace the faith of the Romish Church, in spite of the great obstacles which she foresaw, the punishments, the sufferings, and the persecutions that her conversion would draw down upon her. Being persuaded that her eternal salvation was at stake, she thought that she must disregard every other consideration adverse to this important end.

Father Ange, delighted to see her in this holy disposition, communicated the pious secret to Madame de Gondy, wife of the general of the galleys, and mother of the most Eminent the Cardinal de Retz, so worthy of the purple with which he is invested. This lady, filled with zeal for the salvation of souls, spoke of this affair to other devout persons animated with the same spirit as herself, and, acting all together, they secretly intimated to Mademoiselle de Raconières to *feign indisposition* on a Sunday agreed upon, and excuse herself from accompanying Madame her mother to preaching. Being thus left at home alone, and having nobody with her but some serving-man or maid, a carriage should be sent for her; she was to get into it without any one belonging to the house knowing whence it came, or whither it was going. Madame the lady of the general of the galleys, and other ladies of high quality, received her with that joy and kindness which exceeding charity

is, in this case, capable of producing, and treated her like their own daughter, had her thoroughly instructed in all our mysteries, took extraordinary care of her; and, after her profession of faith, kept her till Divine Providence, which governs all things, united her in marriage with a virtuous, wealthy, and highly esteemed gentleman. It was with the consent of all her relations that this alliance took place, that this great honour was done her. Madame de Raconiès, her mother, had then recovered from all those passions which had been extreme on her return from preaching. Not finding her daughter at home, and learning that a carriage had come to fetch her, she judged, and rightly judged, that her brother the Capuchin had persuaded her to turn Catholic, and her fury was terrible. Under this idea, she gave vent to her rage; she screamed like a maniac. Nothing escaped her lips but language of the grossest abuse, and horrible imprecations. She cursed her son, the Capuchin; and you would have said that she had divested herself of the feelings of humanity, to assume those of a raging lioness, or a furious tigress, who had been robbed of her cubs in her absence.

In these frightful passions, Father Ange had not refrained from appearing before her, though those violent outbursts gave him great pain. He comforted himself, however, with the consciousness that he had furnished no occasion for them. He beheld with delight the glory of God shine forth with great splendour in the conversion of a soul which forsook the ways of hell to follow the desirable path of everlasting salvation. He paid humble thanks to God, and besought of him the grace to make many similar conquests, which was granted to him; for a great number of Huguenots were converted to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion by his indefatigable solicitations and efforts.

Business having called him to Rome; he had the honour of speaking several times with the great Cardinal Bellarmin, who took extraordinary pleasure in his conversation; learning from him the mode in which our French Huguenots conduct themselves, their devices,

their artifices, and their round-about ways, which were not so well known to his Eminence when he gave to the public his great controversial work, which has spread his fame all over the world, as virtue gives him glory in heaven. In consequence of these discourses, the Cardinal conceived a high esteem for Father Ange; thought that he ought to employ him in the reduction of heretics; and, in order that nothing might prevent him from acting with suitable freedom in this office, he obtained for him considerable privileges, such as to be Apostolic missionary, to have a companion on feast days, whom he could employ to absolve from heresy; and with these advantages, he most usefully applied to the labour for the salvation of souls, and, in particular, for the conversion of heretics.

Among the great number whom he gained for the Church, I shall notice only two who are illustrious above the rest, the one in France, the other in England. The one in France was his nephew, Charles François d'Abbra de Raconiès, who excelled in philosophy, in theology, and in preaching. The University of Paris placed him in the first rank of its most eminent and ablest philosophers, and he was followed by four hundred students, who listened to him with admiration. In theology he won the palm from all the Bachelors. The first place was due to his merits; but, as it is always favour which confers this place, and as no person can hold it without great expense, he was dispensed from it, and had the second place. With this recommendation, Raconiès had, in his degree, more honour and less expense. Passing from the degree of doctor to the divine exercise of preaching, his learning, accompanied by piety, zeal, and eloquence, made him preacher to the King. His sermons consisted in general of three parts: the first, on doctrine; the second, upon controversy; the last, on morality. In the first, he taught some Christian truth; in the second, he attacked the Huguenots; in the third, he inveighed against corrupt manners.

Illustrious persons convicted of error by his contro-

versies, desired to see him enter into conference with the famous minister, Dumoulin. He complied with joy, with the permission of the King. This conference was held before many persons of quality of both religions. M. de Raconiès argued with such subtlety and such solidity, that M. Dumoulin, finding himself too weak to resist so powerful an adversary, had recourse to address, and artfully broke off the conference in which M. de Raconiès had effected the conversion of the noble person, who had been the cause of this learned and brilliant dispute. And, after this conversion, he achieved a great many others, in the merit of which Father Ange de Raconiès had a share; having, by the grace of God, won for the Church, and for God, him who was the cause of this great felicity. I recollect that, preaching in the Church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, he invited his congregation to attend on the following Sundays, to witness the investiture of Dumoulin, the minister, who was going to take the habit of Capuchin. This news greatly astonished the people, who thronged to the place in crowds, and who were not in the secret.

Dumoulin had engaged, by a solemn promise, to assume the Capuchin habit, if one could prove to him one thing, which M. de Raconiès was assured of verifying by a convincing demonstration. These controversial disputes, the number of persons whom he snatched from heresy, the very considerable benefit arising from his sermons, brought him into such esteem, that the King, who was acquainted with his merits, appointed him to the bishopric of La Vaur, which highly pleased the Pope; who immediately sent him the Bulls. Among all the conversions which the zeal of Father Ange de Raconiès effected in France, is not this of Mr., his nephew, a memorable one? The other was very illustrious in England, in the person of Madame the Duchess of Lenox, mother of M. d'Aubigny, grand almoner to the Queen.

The Count de Tillières, having orders to go on embassy to the King of England, he desired to have two Capuchins, one skilled in controversy and a good

preacher. Our Reverend Fathers offered him Father Ange, with another who bore the name of Deluynes, who was related to the great favourite of Louis XIII. Both made considerable progress in England by their conferences, their insinuating conversations, their great zeal, and their good example. King James was then living; I have heard talk of him; and, though the faith which they preached was contrary to that which was instilled into the minds of his subjects, not only did he not express any displeasure, but he even desired to see a work on religion written by Father Ange, which his Majesty honoured with an answer, and to which he added marginal notes with his own royal hand. It was a noble and advantageous opening for the conversion of the King; but the wonderful secrets of Divine Providence prevented the effect by the removal of Father Ange, whom Mr. the Ambassador sent to France on some important business.

Before he set out, he had *treated* with many persons of quality, and, among others, with the Duchess of Lenox, to whom he had demonstrated, by Scripture and reason, that the Protestant religion, in which she lived, was not the true religion necessary for salvation. At first, this made no great impression on her mind, and produced no happy effect, but was followed by her holy conversion to the Catholic religion. At the time of our arrival in London, she told us that the learned and pious conversations of Father Ange de Raconiès had been like a seed thrown upon the earth, which does not immediately produce its fruit, but in a succession of seasons; for, thus retaining in her mind the solid reasons of Father Ange, she had long meditated upon them; and, at length, they had made her resolve to renounce the Protestant and to embrace the Catholic faith. As her rank was very high, for she had the honour to be related to the King of Great Britain, her conversion excited great notice, and touched several who began to doubt of their faith; and, desiring to be instructed, were brought to the knowledge of the truth, followed it, and passed the remainder of their

lives holily in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion.

I have forgotten the names of some other English Capuchins, who served the mission in England and Scotland, before our Queen arrived there. Her coming rendered heresy more reserved, and served to temper the violent hatred borne to the priests, and the strict search made for their persons, and the severe torments with which it afflicted their innocence. Before, there was nothing for them but prisons, gibbets, and all sorts of punishments; which showed the great zeal of our missionaries, who, notwithstanding those objects of terror, went to England to withdraw some from their errors, and to confirm others in the true faith. God gave them the grace to succeed in their labours; but, their humility having concealed the particulars, let us go from England to Scotland, the mission of which was also dependent on the province of Paris.

Father Ange, of Scotland, rendered himself famous, among others, by the ardour of his zeal, and by the subtilty of his understanding, which are set forth in brilliant colours in the history of his life, which an eloquent pen hath given us by the title of "The Scotch Capuchin;" and to that I refer the reader who knows that, at the same time, another Capuchin, named Father Chrysostome, of Scotland, effected several conversions, as well by the sanctity of his life as by the force of his reasons. I shall only notice here the principal, which were well known to me, such as that of a virtuous gentleman and English knight, called Richard Forster. He sprang from a very noble and a staunchly Catholic family, which the persecutions caused him to leave at an early age, to embrace the Protestant religion. He had the good fortune to be the grandson of a martyr. His grandfather had suffered death in defence of the faith. This noble cause having made him a prisoner along with two priests, the jailor one day left the prison-door open inadvertently; the priests, on perceiving it, said: "It seems as if Divine Providence affords us this means of escape, that we may continue

to assist the poor Catholics. Let us commend ourselves to God; let us take our time adroitly, without noise; let us all go out one after another." Mr. Forster approved their design, as far as they were concerned, but not for himself; said that, in fact, they would do well to preserve themselves for assisting those who should have need of their aid; that it would be easy for them to conceal themselves in the city, where they were not known; that they would have no difficulty to proceed to another, where they were unknown; but, for his part, he was married; that he had a wife and children, and that God had not called him, like them, to the administration of the sacraments, and to the conversion of the people; that he had promised his family, when he parted from them, that he would never forsake them; and that he would await in the prison the accomplishment of the designs which God had with him. Accordingly, he stayed behind; the priests went forth, and he was soon condemned to death, which he underwent with great courage and joy. The prayers of this martyr and father were powerful with the Almighty to rescue from heresy a son who was morally virtuous, and who had formed an intimate friendship with a Mr. Taleur [Taylor?], an Englishman by birth, and agent to the Archduchess of the Low Countries, Isabel Claire Eugenie. He was at home when Father Chrysostome arrived to receive 99 tapers and 99 addresses, touching his mission and his journey; for this judicious and zealous agent, besides the affairs of his employer, was much engaged for the benefit of Catholics and for the protection of priests. He received with great gravity Father J. Chrysostome; and, on learning his intentions, he told him that he had come most opportunely; that a respectable gentleman, a good friend of his, resided on the borders of Scotland; that he could go with him in perfect assurance, and procure for him a signal benefit, by persuading him gently to forsake the Protestant religion and to embrace the Catholic, which had always been that of his ancestors. At the same time, taking him by the hand, they went to

the gentleman, who was in another room. "Here," said he, "is a good friend of mine, who will accompany you, if you please, on your return home. He is going to Scotland, and your road is that which he must take. I am certain that you will like his company, and his conversation will beguile and shorten the journey."—"Well and good," replied the gentleman, "I shall be delighted; the long journey would have been very tedious, if I had been obliged to travel alone." They settled their affairs, and soon set out.

During the journey, Father J. Chrysostome begged Mr. Forster not to take it amiss, if he did not continue his conversation all the way, as he wanted a little time to himself, to attend to his private affairs. This time was employed in prayers and meditations, with which the gentleman was highly edified. He told me that the Father, coming to himself, as from a trance, asked one day, "*Quelle heure est il?*" [What o'clock is it?], not recollecting that he was speaking to a gentleman who knew not a word of French. His prayers and his meditations rendered Mr. Forster well disposed to profit by his conversations, which were always seasoned with piety. He afterwards spoke of the difference of the two opposite creeds, and fell adroitly upon the impossibility of being saved in both, because there was but one true Church established by Jesus Christ, preached by the Apostles, and cemented by the blood of so many martyrs; said that this true Church could not be the Protestant, since it had neither the antiquity nor the other essential marks which it had; that it had sprung up but lately; that Luther and Calvin, men who led bad lives, were its founders. He added that this glorious title of true Church, and Church of Jesus Christ, belonged to the Romish Church; that, ever since it was founded, it had continually persisted, in spite of the cruel and sanguinary persecutions, which aimed at its extinction; that it had flourished in England and Scotland for several centuries; that the Churches of these two kingdoms were illustrious testimonies of it. The gentleman acknowledged that they were, and that his father had even

been condemned to death, and the sentence executed, merely because he was convicted of being a Papist. This ingenuous avowal was a fine field opened and strong arms given to the Capuchin, for conquering and securing his man. In fact, he pressed him so closely, that he remained completely victorious, making him sensible of his blindness in things so clear; of his want of courage to attend the places of worship of his ancestors; in short, of the genuineness of the Romish church, and the necessity of living and dying in its faith, in order to be saved.

So far, he was unacquainted with the character of Father J. Chrysostome, and that he was a priest. He was anxious to find one who would admit him into the church; and then the Father, delighted to see such excellent dispositions in his neophyte, conceived that the time to discover himself had arrived. He excused himself for not having entirely revealed himself to him, the unjust laws of the kingdom having obliged him to conceal his quality; that, by the grace of God, he was a priest, would receive him into the Church, hear his confession, and render him all the assistance of his ministry. This intimation greatly rejoiced, and, at the same time, surprised Mr. Forster, who made his confession and his profession of faith on reaching home. His wife was of the Protestant religion. He was earnestly desirous to induce her to embrace, like himself, the faith of the Romish Church. Father J. Chrysostome and he having commended this important affair to God, she received so much grace, that she was converted to God, and with her all their children, and some servants of both sexes. It often happens that Heaven impels us to enterprises, and, as it were, bandages our eyes, that we may not perceive the difficulties which would depress our courage, and prevent us from accomplishing the good, strong inspirations of which it has imparted to us. This was the case with Mr. and Madame Forster. Convinced of the truth of the Romish Church, he had generously joined it, without considering the fearful penalties decreed in England against Catholics, but

which they afterwards underwent with great resolution and joy.

All intercourse with heretics, and particularly the participation in the sacraments, being forbidden us, they found themselves greatly at a loss in regard to the baptism of the children born after their conversion. Madame Forster, finding herself near her lying-in, her husband and she made believe to quit their house, with the intention of living somewhere else for a while. They set out in broad day, before the faces of the people; returning secretly at night, they kept the house closed, and had the infant, which had come into the world, baptized by Father J. Chrysostome. But God, designing to exercise their virtue, permitted malicious and vigilant Calvinists to notice that the chimney of the chamber of the master of the house threw out a thick smoke. They judged that the family was still there, and that they might gain something by surprising them. Under this idea, they went thither, broke open the doors, found the lady in bed, and her husband with her, whom they treated with all sorts of indignities, and, after ravaging all they could, they threatened them with the direst penalties. But God prevented the execution of these threats, by means of a considerable sum of money, which these new Catholics were obliged to pay, and which they did with a celestial joy, emanating from the grace which associated them with¹ of whom St. Paul speaks, praising them for that generous pleasure with which they lost their property for the sake of Jesus Christ. They learned afterwards, by happy experience, what a good and infinitely liberal master he is; and that, by losing something in his service, one gains a great deal more than one loses.

Heaven having brought the Lord High Treasurer acquainted with the superior understanding and the solid virtue of Mr. Forster, he employed him secretly in the affairs of the kingdom, induced the King to grant him a pension, derived important services from him for the State, for the Catholics, and for religion. The Queen,

¹ Blank in MS.

being informed of the matter, determined to have him for her treasurer, and it was in this office that I had the happiness to be acquainted with him.

Such were the fruits of the mission of Father J. Chrysostome. If it is so successful in its commencement, what are we to think of its progress and its conclusion, both being concealed from us! What I have related was told me by the converts. Not knowing anything further of the mission of this Father, let us proceed to that of Father Epiphane Lindesay, missionary, at the same time, in Scotland, and, I may almost venture to say, the most laborious and the most zealous that I have ever known. The conversations that I have had with him have afforded me reason to speak of him in this manner.

Father Epiphane was a scion of the very noble and very ancient family of Lindesay, in the north of Scotland. His father was Earl of Maine, and his mother daughter of another earl; all estimable for the antiquity of their nobility and for generosity, but much more so for the purity of the Catholic Church, which they had preserved inviolably, amidst the most vehement persecutions of the heretics. God blessed their marriage with this happy child, who was named Roger in baptism. As soon as he was old enough to learn the Latin language, he was sent to the college under a Huguenot master, who knew him to be brought up in the Catholic religion; wherefore he paid stricter attention to his actions, and, finding them so different from those of his other scholars, he predicted the profession for which this excellent boy was destined. He said without reserve, and prophesied, that he would some day be a priest, which actually came to pass. His many excellent qualities rendered him so amiable, that, though the minister was of a different faith, still he loved him much, and was deeply grieved when he was taken from his school to be sent to Flanders, to the Scotch College of Louvain, which was then governed by the Reverend Fathers Jesuits. There the young student felt happy in no longer having to hear the scornful things launched by the Huguenots against our faith, and the impieties that

annoyed his chaste ears. There it was that holy instructions and good examples powerfully animated him to the study of science and virtue. He applied himself to it so assiduously, and made such progress, that the good students regarded him as the model which they ought to follow.

Having finished his studies, he prayed to God to make known to him the state of life which he was to embrace. After having earnestly commended to him that important affair, he had the inspiration to become a priest, to assist spiritually the poor Catholics of his country, and to oppose heresy, which was making great ravages there. He asked the advice of his confessor, opened to him his whole heart, and acquainted him with all his intentions. The confessor consulted God, and was inspired to assure his penitent that he was called by God to the ecclesiastical profession, to the service of the mission, and to the assistance of the Catholics. He received that answer as coming from Heaven, and immediately prepared himself for holy orders by meditation and the practice of the virtues. After each order had been administered to him successively, according to the injunctions of the canons, at length, adorned with the character of priest, and furnished with the faculties of missionary, he left Louvain, and returned to Scotland, with the greater resolution, because furious persecutions were then raging against the Catholics, and particularly against priests. He gained some Puritans for God, assisted a great number of Catholics, cheering some under their afflictions, exhorting others to perfection, catechizing these, preaching to those, and administering the sacraments to all.

God, designing to increase his merit, and to render his virtue more conspicuous, in order to teach others by his example, permitted him, amidst these sacred avocations, to be discovered, apprehended as a priest, and consigned to a prison, with all sorts of abuse and ill-usage. There he remained for a long time, and suffered much; but his sufferings were soothed by inward consolations which the Holy Ghost infused into

his heart. His dungeon was an oratory, where he prayed to God, who gave him the grace to prepare himself well to die for his glory. In fact, he was about to be condemned as a priest. Such was the fate to which he was reduced. It was what he desired with ardour, rejoicing to acknowledge by his death the obligation which he owed to God, who had died for him; but this dear Master was satisfied with his willingness, and, reserving him for severer trials than death, instigated a person in authority to obtain very cleverly a commutation of the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment from the kingdom. He was thus deprived of the happiness of martyrdom, for which he ardently longed. The sentence which released him from prison directed also that he should be conducted under good guard to a seaport, where he embarked, and returned to Flanders. He then began to visit the Capuchins, and to take a liking to their way of life, which seemed to him quite apostolical, felt strong inspirations to embrace it, and humbly solicited to be received. After several applications, he was at length admitted, and his fervency animated the novices to virtue, and edified all the professed to such a degree, that they gave him all their votes for his profession, which he made with sentiments of deep devotion.

There were at that time in Flanders many persons addicted to witchcraft, some beset, others possessed by, the Devil. Father Epiphane was ordered to exorcise them. God gave him grace to do it with such success, that he broke the contracts, dispelled the illusions, dissolved the spells, and drove out the Devils, who were enraged against him, while his virtue rendered him most amiable to the people.

He studied hard in despite of himself, giving to God the glory of all his good works. Several years passed in this manner, during which he frequently thought of the unhappy heresy of his country, and cherished in his heart a strong desire to assist it. His Superiors, not doubting that these fervours and this charitable feeling proceeded from Heaven, deemed it right to send

him back to Scotland. With the merit of holy obedience, and with the faculties of missionary, he set out, to the general grief of the monks and of the people, who usually called him "the good Father"—"the holy Father." But, if Flanders mourned at his departure, Scotland greatly rejoiced at his return. Among all the Catholics who participated largely in this joy, a gentleman of note exhibited solemn demonstrations of it. He honoured and loved him much, begged him to come and live with him, and be the director of his family. Father Epiphane consented, assumed the spiritual direction of that house, gave exercises to each, animated them to virtue by fervent exhortations, said mass to them every day, and so regulated that house that you would have taken it for a monastery. But he was not content: his zeal was too much cramped in this place; he was deeply grieved that he could not extend it further. He believed himself called by God to discourse with Huguenots, to gain them for the Church, to confirm the faith, to confess, and to administer the holy communion to the poor Catholics in the country, who had no assistance. These motives induced him to beg the gentleman to take another priest; representing to him that any other could render him the same services that he was doing; but that, not having, like him, a robust body, not being capable of enduring hunger, cold, and heat, all priests were not fit, like him, for the arduous duties of the mission in the country, whither God called him.

This request was too just and too charitable not to be granted. The gentleman acquiesced in it, but not without pain: so Father Epiphane departed with the regrets of every one. You will be surprised at the manner in which he equipped himself, and the character which he assumed. On leaving the house of this gentleman, he put on a dress similar to that worn by those among whom he was going to labour. He was going to assist the poor—he dressed himself as a poor man. He was going to give to souls a spiritual pasture—it was requisite to have a shepherd's dress

conformable to that office. He put on a shepherd's dress, with knapsack, crook, and flageolet, on which he had purposely learned to play. In this humble garb, he travelled on foot through all Scotland, visiting the poor Catholics, whom he confessed, said mass, administered the communion to them, exhorting them to perseverance, and bestowing alms on them out of the little that was given to him for his own subsistence. The Catholics of one quarter informed him of those in the neighbourhood to which he was going, and he was furnished with certain marks by those by whom he was sent; and, because the pursuivants were continually on the watch for the apprehension of priests, our shepherd missionary, having recourse to a holy deception, for the purpose of lulling all suspicion in regard to his person, in the evening, in sight of everybody, stopped with the shepherd who was tending his flock, not very far from some place where there was a Catholic house. He made friends with that man, got into conversation with him, played on his flageolet, and then, bidding him farewell, he went, in the darkness of night, to the Catholic house, where he performed all the functions of missionary, and then set out again in the dark to go to others. Is not this an ingenious stratagem? What eyes could have been sharp enough to discover a priest in this disguise! Thus it is that charity has these holy and subtle artifices, and that it knows perfectly well how to unite the prudence of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove, for the glory of God and the salvation of its neighbour.

Having thus visited the poor Catholics dispersed through different provinces of Scotland, he tarried in a district where they were more numerous and more destitute of spiritual assistance. He was content to lodge with poor Catholics, in a very mean house, which was offered him, recollecting these words, in which he took great delight,—I am sent to preach the gospel to the poor, and to converse with the lowly. His fare was not different from that of the poor. He lived with them in this northern kingdom, where wheat is rare:

and the table was covered with oaten bread only, cheese, skimmed milk, and a little beer, on which he subsisted for many long years, till he became the oldest missionary, having exercised that noble vocation till the age of 84 years.

His devotion to the Most Holy Virgin was extraordinary. He regarded her as his dearest mother. To honour her and to qualify himself the better to receive her favours, he fasted so strictly on the eve of her festivals, that he ate nothing whatever, and did the same on the eves of solemn holidays. He had accustomed himself to eat but once a day; and, though his life was a perpetual fast, which rendered him victorious over all the attacks of the flesh, and kept him in such purity, that his confessor, who was, in these parts, a good Jesuit priest, declared in a paper in his own handwriting, that he had kept inviolable the integrity which he had brought with him into the world on the day of his birth. With that strict fasting, which contributed greatly to the maintenance of that virgin purity, was united the extreme care which he took of his conscience, over which he watched, with wonderful attention. Twice a year he made a general confession of his whole life. His confessor mildly insinuating that there was no need to repeat it so often, he replied that the sinner cannot repeat often enough his contrition for his sins.

When we arrived in London for the service of the Queen, our Superiors recalled all the Capuchins, natives of the kingdom, inasmuch as there was great danger of their being known and taken, and, if they had been convicted of being priests, subjects of the King, engaged in the mission, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, they would have furnished occasion for us to be sent back to France. So Father Epiphane had orders to leave Scotland. As soon as he had received the letter, he came to London, to see our Superior, and to give him an account of his proceedings, in order to pass afterwards into Flanders, the province in which he had made his profession; but his prompt obedience, and the entreaties of several persons of quality, and the great

assistance which Scotland received from him, induced our Reverend Father Superior to send him back thither, under the idea that no inconvenience would arise from that measure, since it was founded on the glory of God.

Burdened with many infirmities, having greatly weakened his stomach, he was enjoined by his confessor to take a little wine; though his temperament had a great repugnance to it, he nevertheless obeyed, and, finding himself worse for it, it was deemed expedient to permit him to do as he had been accustomed.

I have already remarked that he had chosen a poor house for his ordinary habitation. In a great persecution, he received warning from his confessor to leave it, and to betake himself to a safe place at the residence of a gentleman of quality, who was fond of him, and wished much to have him in his house. He went thither out of obedience, but tarried there only a short time; for the poor people not being allowed to enter, and he being prevented from going out to them, lest it should be known that the gentlemen in question harboured a priest, he left the gentleman's house, and, putting all his confidence in the protection of God, he returned with the poor people, whom he assisted spiritually and temporally, as much as he could, experiencing the truth of those words—He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord. He assured his confessor that every time he thus gave something, he himself received afterwards in alms four times as much as he had given.

Adorned with so many and such noble virtues, it is no wonder that he should so greatly advance the glory of God in Scotland, that he should convert so many infidels, that he should oblige so many persons to forsake their disorderly lives, that his exhortations and his example should excite so many people to virtue, in short, that he gained so many souls for God. At this sight, the Devil regarded him as his sworn enemy. He could not suffer him to withdraw so many heathen from his sway; and, to revenge himself on this Father, and to stop his progress, he raised up against him the most

energetic satellites, the Puritans. It was Whitsunday, I believe. They said that this festival was held in great veneration by the Papists; that, in all probability, mass would be said at a Catholic house to which Father Epiphane was suspected to have retired. Thither they went with the intention of seizing him, bringing him to trial, and having him condemned to death. They broke open the doors, and proceeded to the room where the Capuchin was. He had already said mass, administered the communion to the persons present, and put away all the ornaments. They took particular notice of each Catholic, and did not perceive the priest, though the room was very small, and there was no place of concealment, as if the protection of God had rendered him *invisible*. Having escaped this danger, he presently fell into another. Falling in with his persecutors, they used great violence to secure him, but he slipped out of their hands, and fled with a swiftness which proved fatal to him. He fell into a ditch and broke a leg, which stopped him short; his pursuers, not having observed him fall, were surprised at not seeing him, could not imagine what had become of him, and returned mortified at the escape of the fugitive, whom they reckoned upon taking, to their profit and advantage.¹

The Devil had stimulated them to war against this servant of God, who was afterwards the object of his triumphs in Scotland, as he had formerly been the object of his victories in Flanders. He threw them into more confusion in Scotland; victory is so much the more glorious to the conqueror, and the confusion the greater to the vanquished, since he was overthrown in the heart of his empire. Is not Scotland the wretched domain of Satan?—well, it was in Scotland that Father Epiphane triumphed. His victory then is the more splendid, and the confusion of the Devil so much the greater.

A troop of those unhappy spirits had taken possession of a woman in the country. They exercised their

¹ We are afraid the reader will consider this "a lame story."

tyranny over her, tormenting her in all sorts of ways.¹ She did what she could to be delivered from them; but, having found the means recommended to her useless, she had recourse to Father Epiphane, who prepared himself for the conflict by fasting, mortification, and fervent prayers. Provided with these spiritual arms, he attacked the infernal powers with the exorcisms of the Church, and commanded them to go out. At first, they made a strong resistance; but at length they found themselves forced to obey. One of them spoke, and said that he would go forth alone, and that four of his companions would stay. Father Epiphane obliged him afterwards to tell his name, and the reason why he took possession of that woman. He said his name was Bel-Zebuth [Belzebub], and that this woman, being mounted on a horse, which was carrying a sack of corn to the mill, the horse flung both sack and woman, who flew into such a rage that she gave up to us both sack and horse, and herself, which gave us occasion to secure her person, and, by an order from Heaven, to possess her. All present were surprised at this answer, and, though the Devil is the father of lies, the woman knew that he had told the truth. One would have thought that after this he must have taken himself off, but he stoutly maintained his ground, and he was obliged to repeat the exorcisms, which finally ejected them all, leaving at their departure a horrible stench, which infected the whole room, perhaps to give those present a foretaste of hell, whence that stench proceeded.

These rebellious spirits had several times before experienced the force of the holy prayers of Father Epiphane, and of the special grace which he had received from Heaven, to drive them out of bodies of which they had taken possession. I omit the relation of these things, in order to say a word concerning witchcraft, which he ruined. He found in some village

¹ The passage which follows shows Father Cyprien's credulity in a very strong point of view. If he had his information from Father Epiphane, the latter deserves to be styled Father Munchausen: indeed, the Baron, in this and other marvellous stories to be told presently, has been excelled by the Capuchin.

in Scotland a very surprising thing. The inhabitants of this place had cows, from some of which they derived great profit, and others caused them expense without any profit. In one house, they gave abundance of milk, one of them as much as two of the most productive. In another house, they gave no milk at all, nothing but blood. Father Epiphane judged that this marvel was the effect of witchcraft, and, under this impression, he considered who was in and about that house. His search discovered a cart-rope full of knots, and this he conceived to be the spell, as it really was. He took the rope, threw it in the fire, and, when it was consumed, the spell was dissolved. Things returned to their usual course; the cows which had given blood yielded nothing but milk, and the superabundance obtained from the others was reduced to the ordinary measure.

This roused still more the rage of the Demon against the Capuchin Father, who laboured so successfully for the ruin of his empire. To daunt his courage, he appeared to him several times in divers hideous shapes, to revenge himself upon him. He resolved to be the ruin of him, and would have been too, had not God deprived him of the power. This Father, going one dark night to a place whither he was summoned, crossing a river, the bridge of which was not above a foot and a half wide, the Devil strove to fling him from it and to drown him. This detestable attempt turned to his own confusion, for Heaven denied the power of hurting him, as soon as the Father had commanded him in the name of God to be gone.

I know generally that there are several miracles in the life of Father Epiphane; but, as I am not acquainted with the details, I pass them over with the intention of writing them another time.

After so many vigils, and austerities, and labours, in the mission, he fell into great bodily infirmities. The age of four score years and four, which rendered him the oldest of the missionaries, enfeebled him to such a degree, that he could no longer hold up, and, consequently,

he could not say mass in that infirm state. As his end drew nigh, like the candle which gives more light when on the point of going out, stretched on a truckle-bed, he never ceased to perform with fervour the functions of missionary, to direct his attention to the Catholics old and new, whom he had by the grace of God withdrawn from heresy, giving them holy instructions, and representing to them the great blessing of the faith, exhorting them to preserve it carefully, to suffer death rather than relinquish that belief of which they had made profession. He encouraged them to suffer for living well, to gain souls for God by their good example, and by their devout conversations. He fed them with this pasture, and, thus fed, he sent them to their homes; and yet he who could not sleep at night, partly on account of the complaints which oppressed him,—partly on account of his habit of being up at night, going abroad in the dark, that he might not be observed, that time which others passed in sleep, he employed in acts of contrition and love, in holy meditation, and in fervent prayer.

Several weeks passed in that manner. At length, finding his strength almost entirely gone, he sent for the Reverend Father, the Scotch Jesuit, who was his confessor. He put into his hands all his books and every thing he had; begging public pardon for such bad examples as he might have given; thanked God for all his blessings, and particularly for his vocation to the Catholic religion, and to the Order of the Seraphic Father St. Francis; renewed the vows of his religious profession; reiterated his sacramental profession; received viaticum and extreme unction; and passed happily from this world to go probably to heaven, to receive the reward of his excellent charity in the glory which I wish you, in the name of the Father, through the Son and the Holy Ghost.

8

8 Amen. 8

8

What I have written concerning Father Epiphane I learned partly from his own mouth, when he came

from Scotland to London, and partly from Father Clerc, the Scottish Jesuit, who was his confessor in his last years, after the death of the Capuchins, who performed the duties of the mission along with him. He intitles the paper which he sent to me, *Brevis Synopsis Vitæ ac Mortis. V. P. Epiphanii, Ordinis Capercinorum, S. P. Francisci.*

At the end he adds, Many other *greater things*, which he did, said, and underwent, as they have been proved to me, I will send at an early day, God willing. Meanwhile I have received this miniature of St. Andrew, the Apostle of Scotland, which resembles Father Epiphanius to the life.

I, the undersigned, have attentively read these Memoirs, in which I have not found any thing contrary to good morals or contrary to the faith.¹

F. ANSELME, of St. Rambert,
Of the Order of Capuchins.

I ought not here to omit a letter which he wrote to me a year or two before his death, in answer to one which I had sent him, with some little presents. It shows the great dangers in which he found himself, the Divine Providence which delivered him from them, and the avenging Justice which punished the persecutors of the Catholics.

Reverend Father, I have received your letters, with the manuscripts, for which I return you many thanks. You wish to be made acquainted with the various dangers that have befallen me during so many years. Many I recollect to have related to you already in London: I will add the following, in which the wonderful providence of God is strikingly displayed.

I came into this kingdom of Scotland in the year 1620, at which time there were, as far as I know, but three priests in the whole kingdom. I first went to the north coast, where I laboured some years, thence

¹ This is rather an ambiguous certificate: it is a pity the writer forgot to certify how much he had found in the Memoirs contrary to truth.

to the western, and, lastly, I reached the southern district. At that time, about the year 1630, a most violent persecution arose against the Catholics. A certain nobleman, having obtained authority, collected three or four hundred of his friends and confederates, partly horse, partly foot, who unexpectedly fell upon the houses of the Catholics, and, having carried off their goods, seized, and threw them into prison. The report of this most iniquitous act having reached the adjacent Catholics, they betook themselves to flight. The leader of the band, however, as soon as he returned home, glorying in his plunder, was stricken by a terrible disease, and his conscience upbraiding him, he thought that it was a punishment sent by God for his villany. He, therefore, when near death, admonished his sons not to do anything against the Papists, if they wished to avert from themselves a similar scourge. But this salutary admonition was disregarded; the second son, worse than the father, succeeded him in his place: day and night he harassed the Catholics, but he soon fell into a mortal disease, by which his whole body was putrefied, and he died *vomiting up his vitals from his mouth*.

A certain Baron, not at all daunted by this awful death of the deceased, took his place, but only for a short time. For, when he was the most inveterate enemy of the Catholics, he rendered himself the avenger of his guilt, by the explosion of a gun, the ball from which passed through his heart. Another Baron supplied his place, and shortly afterwards was carried off by a disease unknown to the physicians.

Then followed an extraordinary circumstance, the memory of which is not yet forgotten. It was now the turn of Mr. Thomas Ramsay, a minister, who was seized with madness, and, at certain intervals, when somewhat *compos mentis*, could not be prevailed upon before his death to pray to God. After him Jacobus Brunus [James Brown?], the most ruthless of all, going to bed in health after the work of persecution, was found to have fallen a victim to sudden death in his sleep. There

was then sent to those parts a certain viscount, who, returning home after inflicting persecution on the Catholics, fell into a disease, and sunk under it within ten days; and his corpse filled all around with such a stench, that it was found necessary to consign him to the earth at night, as the viscount's sister told me.

The viscount was succeeded by the minister Galterus Gladimates, the most inimical against me of them all. He obtained power to seize me, with books, cup, and Catholic instruments and ornaments. Fired with hatred and rage, he came with some armed satellites, broke open the house wherein I was then accustomed to lodge, collected the books and the ecclesiastical ornaments, the more valuable of which he reserved for himself; the rest, having kindled a fire in the public market-place, he burned. Boasting of this outrage as well to his neighbours as in the pulpit, within two months, having bitten off part of his tongue with his teeth, he breathed forth his spirit. His body could scarcely be carried away on account of the stench.¹

After all these, a certain gentleman, a most wicked man, and the bitterest enemy of the Catholic Church, summoned many Catholics before his tribunal, and confined them in the most loathsome dungeons, but, on his return home, he was crossing a river in a boat, when the boat was upset, and he, carried away by the stream, with his companions in villany, perished, partly suffocated by the water, partly strangled by the clasp of his cloak. If I were to add all that I could relate to you, *neither days nor years* would be sufficient.

Here I lived many years alone, without any companion, scarcely ever stirring out of the house, till the year 1648, since which time I have had a faithful companion and constant friend. My intercourse was mostly with poor Catholics and such as were least known or suspected. I went to them at night, and took rest in houses remote from others. Thrice was I betrayed, but never taken. The first sold me to the Earl of Dunbar,

¹ This is a favourite accompaniment to dissolution with the good Capuchin, but why it should be a feature peculiar to Protestants the Father does not say.

for a suit of clothes and one hundred Scotch marks; but, having timely warning of the treachery from a Catholic, I evaded the snares of the noble. The second sold me to Thomas Ramsay, the minister, for one hundred Scotch marks;¹ I had given notice for the Catholics to meet in the house of a certain nobleman, the Duke of Dumfries,² at one o'clock; and the minister was apprized of the time. I therefore anticipated the hour, and, on returning home, went out again immediately, at the inspiration, as I verily think, of the Holy Ghost. The minister, with some others, entered the house, and having sought me everywhere without finding me, he sent some of his people to a neighbouring hill, where he had understood that I sometimes concealed myself, and where indeed I then was, but hid among bushes. The minister, disappointed of his prey, being seen by some persons, while returning home, said that he had not yet given up all hope of catching me. For, said he, I have been bargaining with some persons to betray him. I have given each of them five English shillings; and I have promised a hundred marks to whomsoever shall deliver him to me. The third sold me to one of my relations; but, early forewarned of his treachery, I evaded the danger. These are the particulars that occur at the moment: more another time, if God grants life. Meanwhile, I am,

Your friend from my heart,

EPIPHANIUS LINDESAY, Cap.

¹ The good Father's value seems to have fallen since his first betrayal.

² There was no Duke of Dumfries. William, kinsman and successor of Robert Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, (who was hanged for the murder of his fencing-master) was created Earl of Dumfries June 12, 1633.



ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 5, line 21—" Sir Thomas Roe."

He obtained great reputation as a traveller to Turkey, Persia, and other parts of the East, whither he had been sent in the capacity of ambassador, and on his return published accounts of what he had observed. In 1629, he was sent to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland, and was afterwards employed in other missions in Germany; was present at the Congress of Hamburg, and was subsequently sent to the Diet at Ratisbon, to negotiate for the restoration of the unfortunate King of Bohemia, of which negotiation he published an account. He represented Oxford in Parliament in 1640, and Charles I. soon afterwards created him a privy councillor and chancellor of the order of the Garter. He died in 1644.

Page 16, line 9—" Sir Thomas Edmondes."

In the preceding reign he had been ambassador at the court of Brussels, and subsequently to that of France; to which court he was again accredited in 1629.

Page 53, line 1—" Sir Robert Dudley."

Son of the celebrated Earl of Leicester, by his second wife. He had been obliged to fly the country soon after the accession of James, but found a refuge at the court of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, where he obtained the post of chamberlain, and employed himself in the composition of various literary works, one of which was the unfortunate manuscript that, falling into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, occasioned him so much annoyance. He died in 1639.

Page 100, line 1—" The Lord Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston."

Commonly called "the good Earl of Kingston," from the generosity of his disposition. On the breaking out of the struggle between the king and the parliament, Lord Kingston raised four thousand men, and was shortly afterwards appointed lieutenant-general of all his majesty's forces in the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Norfolk. He was a very active commander; nevertheless, he was surprised by the enemy, and, while being conveyed in an open boat to Hull, on the 30th of July, 1643, was pursued by Sir Charles Cavendish, when the Parliamentarians refusing to surrender their prisoner, they were fired upon, and the Earl fell mortally wounded; the boat was captured, and the crew put to the sword.

Page 103, line 1—" Sir William Brounker."

He was gentleman of the privy chamber to Charles I., and vice chamberlain to his son, when Prince of Wales. He was raised to the peerage, September 12, 1645, as Baron Brounker, of Newcastle, and Viscount Brounker, of Lyons, county of Dublin. He died July 20, 1649, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who, for fifteen years, was president of the Royal Society.

Page 104, line 15—" Archie."

The well known fool of James I.

Page 125, line 6 from bottom—" Lord Ochiltree."

Sir James Stewart purchased the lordship of Ochiltree from Andrew, the third lord, who resigned the title in his favour in 1615.

Page 133, line 11 from bottom—" My Lord Chaworth."

Sir George Chaworth, created Baron and Viscount Chaworth, in 1627.

Page 189, line 6—" John Tradescant."

This name belonged to three men of considerable celebrity in their day, as gardeners, travellers, and antiquaries. They were grandfather, father, and son. The first two arrived in England together in the reign of James I., having travelled over a great portion of Europe and the East. They took a house at Lambeth, which they filled with the curiosities they had collected in their several journeys, which was well known to the sight-seers of the metropolis as Tradescant's Ark. The second John Tradescant was appointed gardener to Charles I., and was assisted by his son. The contents of the Ark formed the nucleus of the Ashmolean Museum.

Page 190, line 12—" Chancellor Oxenstiern."

A full account of the proceedings of this eminent man, with copious information respecting the war in Germany, in which each of the different celebrated commanders, whose names are given in the text, played so distinguished a part, will be found in Coxe's " History of the House of Austria."

THE END.

